Daily Report

East Europe

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FBIS-EEU-89-242 *19 December 1989*

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Opposition Groups Meet in Budapest

LD1612212689 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 16 Dec 89

[Text] A summit meeting of East European opposition movements is taking place in Budapest. Jozsef Orosz reports:

[Begin Orosz recording] The number one person within the Democratic Forum [MDF], Jozsef Antall, sketched the outlines of a new Central European unity. In his view, in what is still the backyard of Europe, every nation must be given and gain the right to national self-determination, the universal recognition of human rights, and parliamentary democracy. The peoples of Central Europe can again become friends and brothers; they can find one another. It is only democracy that can be the link connecting this region with Europe. The message from Jozsef Antall was unequivocal to the invited guests from Czechoslovakia, representatives of Charter 77, the Democratic Awakening, and the Public Against Violence movement. Other guests at the Budapest rally of the Democratic Forum are the GDR New Forum, and Solidarity from Poland.

The leadership of the Democratic Forum yesterday held bilateral talks with representatives of the GDR's New Forum. In response to my question, one of the leaders of the movement said that they feel that in that part of Central Eastern Europe, they are already looking backward, and they see Hungary behind them. They do not understand why a calling to account of the defeated regime is late in happening in Hungary. Therefore, in this matter they are ahead of Hungary. Otherwise, the MDF and the GDR's New Forum are preoccupied with similar matters: the elections. As I learned, the MDF's list of election candidates is being prepared. [end recording]

Economics Conference Views CEMA's Future

AU1912094889 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 9 Dec 89 p 8

[Report on interview with Polish, Hungarian, CSSR, and Soviet participants at international economists conference by Miklos Ritecz in Sopron; date not given: "Opinions About CEMA—Continuing to Look at Each Other"]

[Excerpts] Serious differences of opinion on the future cooperation between Eastern European countries emerged at the international economists conference recently held in Sopron. Can the already inoperative CEMA be reformed? What will be the relations between the states that have thus far called each other fraternal? The increase in national interests—best expressed by the customs war within CEMA—is causing tension between our countries, to say nothing of the conflicts arising from the differences in political opinions. Our correspondent interviewed four participants about issues concerning the future. We would have liked to hear the opinions of the GDR and Romania, too, but economists from these two countries did not send their representatives to the conference—for different reasons, of course.

Andrzey Kupych (Poland)

[Ritecz] It has repeatedly been said that, in its current form, CEMA is unable to function. To what extent can a radical reorganization help? Can CEMA be reorganized at all?

[Kupych] I would say that currently the member states are unable to come to an agreement. Nor can we expect that ten countries will find some solution acceptable to all in the near future. The current common plans therefore have no chance of being implemented. I think—and, of course, this is not only my opinion—that the future lies with the so-called small integrations. This requires two or three countries that are capable of closely cooperating with each other and which also intend to do so. I could imagine such a community of countries being composed of Hungary, Poland, and the CSSR, for example. [passage omitted]

[Ritecz] How will the other countries treat Romania, which refuses any changes?

[Kupych] One problem is that the leaders in Bucharest declare that everything is in perfect order, not only in Romania but, in their view, in CEMA, too. Thus, for the time being we cannot count on them to create these small integrations, and they do not fit into the picture in a Western-style reorganization of CEMA either. I can also imagine a scenario in which Bucharest would be the first to leave CEMA. Of course, the most favorable scenario would be a normalization of life in Romania and the discarding of the current regime, which, with the best of intentions, we cannot call socialism. [passage omitted]

Barna Talas (Hungary)

[Ritecz] In your address, you mentioned bourgeois democracy and a people's democracy as possible paths toward future development in Eastern European countries. You added that both include a market economy.

[Talas] These countries tried to transcend capitalism by failing to follow its road to the end. In my view, this was a senseless attempt. History also proves this, because all the countries that call themselves socialist are now shifting to a production system based on capitalist conditions, whether they admit it or not. If the parties that have been leading the processes of past decades had recognized in time that capitalism cannot be passed over, they could have followed the road of people's democracy to the end. [passage omitted]

[Ritecz] Can we treat all the Eastern European countries alike? They have different approaches to economic and political reform.

[Talas] Life forces us to make radical changes. Monopolistic regimes can only be maintained by force. As to

how long, that depends on the courage of the masses and the approach of the domestic security forces. Therefore, to also raise the subject of this conference, there can be no radical reform in CEMA without a radical social, economic, and politico-ideological reorganization of the member states, that is, a total change in their regimes. [passage omitted]

Ivan Kocarnik (CSSR)

[Ritecz] Can CEMA be reformed?

[Kocarnik] It can be reformed with a lot of effort, and step by step. Life forces us to do that. The Western orientation that some countries have been pursuing is encountering difficulties. You should not forget that the economy in our countries is based on something totally different: For decades, there has been no market in this part of Europe, and we are only now experimenting with a market economy. For the West to accept us, we must break down our cooperation, we must compete on the world market, and we must reform our economies, and only then can we think of strengthening our Eastern European integration again. [passage omitted]

In the past, we kept saying that we have some kind of common interests. What does that mean? That all of us should be equally poor? In order to increase the standard of living of our Eastern European community, everyone should first put his own backyard in order. Only then can we think of common interests. [passage omitted]

Aleksey Mozhin (Soviet Union)

[Ritecz] Many proposals have been made about the radical renewal of CEMA. If these proposals are implemented, will this organization be able to function efficiently enough?

[Mozhin] Perhaps it will. In my view, there is no danger of any member state being willing to leave the organization. The member countries depend too much on each other to do this. Of course, this dependence emerged in an artificial way in the past, but it would be senseless to eliminate this. Besides, CEMA has never been more than a sum of bilateral relations. I think this would be enough. In other words, bilateral economic relations should determine the future of CEMA.

Let me also mention the hidden support provided by the Soviet Union to its Eastern European partners thus far. This is not normal, because a country with a lower standard of living is helping out richer countries.

Leaders Greetings Received on National Day

Libya's al-Qadhdhafi Greets Alia

AU1312193889 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 5 Dec 89 p 4

[Greeting message from Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi, leader of the Socialist People's Libyan Jamahiriyah, to Ramiz Alia, chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly—date and place not given

[Text] On the occasion of the National Day of your friendly country, I have the honor of conveying to you in my own name and on behalf of the people of the Socialist People's Libyan Jamahiriyah my best wishes for the health, happiness, and prosperity of the friendly Albanian people.

Algeria's Bitat Greets Alia

AU1312193589 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 5 Dec 89 p 4

[Greeting message from Rabah Bitat, chairman of the People's National Assembly of the Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria, to Ramiz Alia, chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly—date and place not given]

[Text] It is a special pleasure for me to express my warmest greetings on the occasion of Albania's National Day, and to send you my best wishes for your complete personal health and happiness and for the further progress and prosperity of the Albanian people, with whom we are linked by ties of respect and solidarity.

PDRY's Al-'Attas Greets Alia

AU1312193389 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 5 Dec 89 p 4

[Greeting message from Haydar Abu-Bakr al-'Attas, chairman of the Supreme People's Council Presidium of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, to Ramiz Alia, chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly—date and place not given]

[Text] Best wishes on your country's liberation day. I wish you complete health and happiness, and progress and prosperity for your people.

Marxist Parties Send Greetings

AU1012141789

[Editorial Report] Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian on 3 December publishes on page 3 messages, totaling 3,600 words, sent to Ramiz Alia, Albanian Workers Party (AWP) Central Committee first secretary, by Marxist-Leninist parties from the following countries: Brazil, Burma, Denmark, the Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Canada, Mexico, Peru, Portugal, Spain, Surinam, and Trinidad and Tobago, on the occasion of the 45th anniversary of Albania's liberation.

All messages stress the historic importance of the liberation and the people's revolution in Albania and extol the great role played by Enver Hoxha, described as "beloved Comrade Enver Hoxha," "the correct revolutionary road of your great leader and genius Enver Hoxha," "the unforgettable Enver Hoxha," and so forth. In various ways, the messages also praise the importance of Albania's struggle against revisionism, as in the following excerpt from the message by Hardial Baines, first secretary of the Communist Party of Canada (Marxist-Leninist): "The struggle of the AWP against modern revisionism and Comrade Enver Hoxha's works long ago foresaw the events now taking place in the Soviet Union and in the countries of East Europe, showing that they are a logical conclusion of the counterrevolutionary road adopted at the 20th CPSU Congress. The lessons drawn by the AWP from that experience are of invaluable assistance to the Marxist-Leninist parties on the revolutionary path."

The messages also praise Albania's achievement in safeguarding its independence.

PLO's 'Arafat Greets Alia

AU1012141289 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 2 Dec 89 p 3

[Greeting message from Yassir 'Arafat, president of the Palestinian State and chairman of the Executive Committee of the PLO, to Ramiz Alia, chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly—date and place not given]

[Text] On the occasion of the Albanian people's celebration of the 45th anniversary of Albania's liberation from the Nazi invader, it is a pleasure for me, on behalf of the Palestinian Government and people, the PLO, and in my own name, to convey to your excellency, the militant Albanian Workers Party, the respected Albanian Government, and to your friendly people, sincere friendly greetings and most cordial best wishes.

I avail myself of this opportunity to express to your excellency our great appreciation of the supportive position of friendly Albania, your party, government, and people, under your wise leadership, in sustaining our just cause, the struggle of our people, and our national intifada to end Israeli occupation and to return to our people their incontestable rights, including the right of return, the right to self-determination, and the right to create their independent Palestinian state with holy Jerusalem as its capital.

Your support and that of the international community for the Palestinian peace initiative and for the struggle of our people to achieve a just peace in our region increase the strength and determination of our people to continue their revolutionary march until they achieve their freedom, independence, and sovereignty over the territory of their homeland.

I wish to express to you our deep pride in the relations of friendship, solidarity, and constructive cooperation that tie our two peoples and countries, the People's Socialist Republic of Albania and the State of Palestine. I confirm our care to continue to develop and strengthen these relations in the service of common goals and to realize peace in our region, so that our two countries may progress and flourish.

I send you, dear comrade chairman, our greetings and best wishes for your excellency's health and happiness and for the progress and prosperity of your friendly people.

Revolution until victory!

SFRY's Markovic Greets Carcani

AU1012141189 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 2 Dec 89 p 3

[Greeting message from Ante Markovic, president of the Federal Executive Council of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, to Adil Carcani, chairman of the Council of Ministers—date and place not given]

[Text] On the occasion of National Day, please accept, your excellency, my greetings and best wishes for the well-being and prosperity of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania and for the progress of cooperation between our two neighboring countries.

Polisario Front Greets Alia

AU1012141089 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 2 Dec 89 p 3

[Greeting message from Mohammed Abdelaziz, president of the Saharawi Arab Democratic Republic and general secretary of the Polisario Front, to Ramiz Alia, chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly—date and place not given]

[Text] The celebration of the National Day of your friendly country gives me the pleasant opportunity to send you my very warm greetings and sincere good wishes for your happiness and health, as well as for the peace and prosperity of the fraternal Albanian people.

I avail myself of this happy occasion to pay homage to the many political, economic, and social successes your brave people have achieved under the leadership of the Albanian Workers Party.

The celebration of the 45th anniversary of the liberation also gives me the opportunity to express once again our continued readiness to develop and consolidate still further the excellent relations of friendship and solidarity that have long united our two fraternal peoples.

Mr President and dear friend, please accept my highest fraternal regards.

Nicaragua's Ortega Sends Greetings

AU1012140589 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 2 Dec 89 p 3

[Greeting message from Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega to Ramiz Alia, chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly—date and place not given]

[Text] In the name of the government and people of Nicaragua, allow me to convey ardent, best wishes on the occasion of the celebration of the 45th anniversary of the victory of the people's revolution in Albania. On this occasion the Nicaraguan people feel very close to the Albanian people, with whom they are bound in a friendship forged in the struggle and efforts for victory over the enemies and for the prosperity of our peoples.

I avail myself of this opportunity to express the desire for the further development of relations between our two peoples, countries, and governments.

Poland's Mazowiecki Greets Carcani

AU1012133289 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 2 Dec 89 p 3

[Greeting message from Tadeusz Mazowiecki, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Poland, to Adil Carcani, chairman of the Council of Ministers—date and place not given]

[Text] On the National Day of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, I would like to convey greetings and best wishes to you and your government.

I avail myself of this opportunity, at the same time, to express our desire for the further development of Polish-Albanian relations.

Bulgaria's Atanasov Greets Carcani

AU1012133189 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 2 Dec 89 p 3

[Greeting message from Georgi Atanasov, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, to Adil Carcani, chairman of the Council of Ministers—date and place not given] txt
[Text] On the occasion of the 45th anniversary of Albania's liberation from fascism and capitalism and the victory of the people's revolution, please accept my greetings and sincere wishes for new victories on the road of socialism.

I am confident that the further development of Bulgarian-Albanian relations will contribute to the extension and deepening of cooperation in the mutual interest of our two fraternal peoples, as well as in the interest of good-neighborliness and peace in the Balkans.

DPRK's Premier Greets Carcani

AU1012133089 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 2 Dec 89 p 3

[Greeting message from Yon Hyong-muk, chairman of the Administrative Council of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, to Adil Carcani, chairman of the Council of Ministers—date and place not given]

[Text] On the occasion of the 45th anniversary of the liberation and the victory of the people's revolution in Albania, I convey to you my warm greetings.

On this occasion, I express the conviction that the relations of friendship and cooperation between our two countries will develop and continue to extend. I sincerely wish you even greater successes in your efforts and those of the Albanian people for the development of the independent socialist economy and national culture.

GDR's Krenz, Modrow Greet Leaders

AU1012132989 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 2 Dec 89 p 3

[Greeting message from Egon Krenz, chairman of the GDR Council of State, and Hans Modrow, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, to Ramiz Alia, chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, and Adil Carcani, chairman of the Council of Ministers—date and place not given]

[Text] On the occasion of the National Day of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania and the 45th anniversary of the country's liberation from fascism and the victory of the people's revolution, on behalf of the GDR Council of State, the Council of Ministers, and the people of the GDR, we convey to you, the Presidium of the People's Assembly, the Council of Ministers, and the Albanian people our cordial greetings and best wishes.

November 29, 1944 marked a turning point in the history of the Albanian people and opened up to them a road toward a new future. Under the leadership of the Albanian Workers Party, your country has long been achieving important results in building a socialist society.

The important contribution of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania to the struggle for peace, security, and international cooperation is greatly appreciated in the GDR.

Friendly relations between our two countries are successfully developing. Rest assured that, in the future also, we will make every effort to develop and deepen our mutual relations in every area, to the good of our two peoples, to our mutual benefit, and in the interests of peace.

We gladly avail ourselves of this occasion to convey to you our best wishes for new successes in carrying out the responsible tasks which the Albanian people have undertaken in further building socialism.

We wish you, respected comrades, health and creative vigor in your highly responsible work.

Mongolia's Batmonh Greeting

AU1012132889 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 2 Dec 89

[Greeting message from Jambyn Batmonh, chairman of the Presidium of the Great Hural, and Sodnom Dumaagiyn, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Mongolia, to Ramiz Alia, chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly—date and place not given]

[Text] On the occasion of the 45th anniversary of the National Day of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, we would like to convey our sincere congratulations to you, and through you to the friendly Albanian people.

The Mongolian people are fully informed of and rejoice at the achievement of national freedom by the Albanian people and their successes in the country's socialist construction.

We are convinced that the friendly relations between Mongolia and Albania will be further extended and developed to the benefit of our two peoples.

On this happy occasion, we wish you good health, and prosperity and well-being to the Albanian people.

CSSR's Adamec Greets Carcani

AU1012132789 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 2 Dec 89 p 3

[Greeting message from CSSR Premier Ladislav Adamec to Adil Carcani, chairman of the Council of Ministers—date and place not given]

[Text] On the occasion of your National Day, the 45th anniversary of your country's liberation, in the name of the Government of the Socialist Republic of Czechoslovakia, as well as personally, I wish yourself and the Albanian people numerous successes in the construction of socialism.

The normalization of state relations between the Socialist Republic of Czechoslovakia and the People's Socialist Republic of Albania has created conditions for the further extension and deepening of cooperation in all fields.

I avail myself of this opportunity to express our sincere interest in all-round cooperation on the basis of equality and to the benefit of the prosperity of our two peoples.

Hungary's Szuros Greets Alia

AU1012132689 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 2 Dec 89 p 3

[Greeting message from Matyas Szuros, acting president of the Republic of Hungary, to Ramiz Alia, chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly—date and place not given]

[Text] On the occasion of the National Day of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania and the 45th anniversary of your country's liberation, I wish to send you my cordial greetings and my sincere best wishes.

I avail myself of this occasion to confirm that the Republic of Hungary, in serving the cause of peace and social progress, is making efforts to develop relations between our two countries in accordance with our reciprocal interests.

In the name of the Hungarian people, I wish the Albanian people new successes in the construction of their country.

'Tension,' Harassment Noted on Romanian Border

AU1812202789 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2000 GMT 18 Dec 89

[Text] I shall begin this newscast with a report sent a short while ago by our reporter in Ruse, Lyuben Antonov. It is about tension on the Bulgarian-Romanian border. The report reads:

At 2300 local time on 17 December, the Romanian border authorities unilaterally and without any warning closed the border crossing from Bulgaria to Romania at the Dunav Most [Danube Bridge] checkpoint between Ruse and Giurgiu.

Soviet transit trucks and buses were the only vehicles to transit the border. Today at 1130, the Romanian authorities also allowed the transit crossing of other foreign vehicles.

Romania introduced almost the same restrictions for international express-train travel. Only persons who have tickets and reserved places in transit passenger trains can cross the border.

Those unilateral measures by the Romanian authorities created an abnormal situation at the Bulgarian-Romanian Dunav Most border checkpoint. Today in Giurgiu, 60 Polish and 60 Bulgarian tourists were removed from a train, put in box-freight wagons and returned to Bulgarian territory.

The arbitrary actions of the Bulgarian border has also assumed other dimensions. Instead of explaining their actions, Romanian uniformed border guards have beaten up Polish and Bulgarian female tourists.

The Bulgarian border authorities are adopting measures for normalizing the situation in the region of the Ruse-Giurgiu border checkpoint, reports our correspondent in Ruse, Lyuben Antonov, in conclusion.

Further on Restrictions

AU1812205989 Sofia BTA in English 2016 GMT 18 Dec 89

[Text] Sofia, December 18 (BTA)—Romania practically closed its border with Bulgaria today, the Bulgarian Television reported this evening from the border city of Ruse on the Danube.

Bulgarian customs officers said that as from 8 a.m. [0600 GMT] local time today, without any explanation and "until further notice" the Romanian authorities have been allowing only trucks of all national registrations and transit train passengers to enter the country.

"They treated us like prisoners, they kept us under guard and did not let us budge when the train pulled in stations, they behaved rudely," said Bulgarians and Poles arriving from Romania.

"When a Polish woman asked them why they treated us like that, a Romanian officer told her, 'shut up' and punched her in the face," a Bulgarian traveler said, describing the Romanian authorities' treatment as "inhuman".

The televised report showed medical certificates issued by the Bulgarian health service to Bulgarians who have been roughed up by Romanian policemen and customs officers.

A Bulgarian official called the actions of the Romanian border control authorities "unaccountable" and indicated that a complaint will be lodged through the usual channels.

Border Stays Closed

AU1912104489 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 19 Dec 89

[Text] The abnormal situation at the Dunav Most [Danube Bridge] border checkpoint between Ruse and Giurgiu has continued for more than 36 hours. I have already reported that the Romanian authorities, in fact, unilaterally closed the border between Bulgaria and Romania without any warning and without legal grounds. Furthermore, there were instances of brutality and physical violence in Giurgiu against Bulgarian and other countries' citizens before they were returned to Bulgarian territory.

As responsible Romanian border employees have stated, the border will be closed until further notice, and only transit passengers, trucks, and buses will be allowed to pass, without the right to even stop on Romanian territory to satisfy basic human needs.

According to information from Colonel Kiril Luzhevski, commander of the United Border Control Border Checkpoints in Ruse, during the past 36 hours, some 3,126 Bulgarian citizens and 384 vehicles have been prevented from traveling to Romania as tourists or for business reasons.

Dozens of tourist groups have returned from the Ruse border checkpoint to other regions of the country; this greatly harmed and interrupted the work of tourist companies.

The process works in two directions; The Romanian border authorities only allow people on official business to cross the border into Bulgaria.

Trade Protocol Signed With Yugoslavia

AU1412214989 Sofia BTA in English 2059 GMT 14 Dec 89

[Text] Sofia, December 14 (BTA)—Bulgaria and Yugoslavia will exchange over 380 million U.S. dollars' worth of goods and services in 1990, under a protocol signed here this evening. The figure exceeds considerably the value of this year's reciprocal deliveries.

Shipments of raw materials, chemicals, pharmaceutics and metallurgical products will account for 54 per cent of

the two-way trade. Considerably larger quantities of consumer goods will be traded, too.

The protocol envisages wider cooperation and specialization and joint production of locomotives, passenger carriages, motor cars, road-construction machinery, electronic and eletrical engineering items, units and details and other mechanical engineering output.

Editorial Emphasizes New Cooperation With USSR

AU1812191589 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 7 Dec 89 p 1

[Editorial: "Renewed Cooperation"]

[Text] The acceleration of the restructuring process in Bulgaria—or to be more precise, the fact that we are at the threshold of a period of real, revolutionary changes—includes the sphere of international relations within the framework of which Bulgarian-Soviet cooperation plays a leading role. In this respect, 5 December will be a memorable date for renewal and of our comprehensive cooperation in the name of the common goals and ideals that inspire our two peoples. The Bulgarian Communists and all working people in our country followed with great interest the first working meeting between Petur Mladenov, general secretary of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] Central Committee and chairman of the State Council, and Mikhail Gorbachev, the Soviet party and state leader.

We are at the beginning of profound, basic changes, and our broad cooperation with the homeland of the restructuring process is becoming as urgently required as it was in the first years of socialist construction in our country. Our people ardently support the second revolution in the Soviet Union, because they are well aware that its success guarantees the success of our renewal processes, a guarantee that we are proceeding along the common path toward democratic and humanitarian socialism, which in these stormy days has been given a new chance for further development. We could not imagine the implementation of our plans for a drastic increase in productive effectiveness, for the prompt application of the achievements of scientific-technical revolution, for an even more accelerated progress toward material and intellectual development, without creatively applying the experience gained from the restructuring process in the Soviet Union. Unfortunately, the damage caused by the command-administrative system in our country was considerable in this respect. The rhetorically proclaimed similarity in principle in the goals of restructuring in our country was not followed by a real expansion of the processes of renewal, which deteriorated into a vicious circle of bureaucratic reorganizations and pseudochanges. The noisily advertised establishment of joint Bulgarian-USSR enterprises did not develop into accelerated and effective production sharing or into a specialization of our industrial-technical potential. Evidently, the 10 November change is called upon to put an end to the stagnation in Bulgarian-Soviet cooperation and to create effective mechanisms for broad participation by labor and scientific-research collectives, enterprises, and institutes, oblasts, and republics.

The first Bulgarian-Soviet summit meeting following the memorable date of 10 November provided the opportunity to compare the views of the two allied socialist states on most topical problems of international life. Comrade Petur Mladenov expressed all our people's conviction when he welcomed the positive results of the meeting between Mikhail Gorbachev and U.S. President George Bush in Malta, sharing his confidence that this meeting would have great impact on the development of international events. In proceeding along the common path of democracy and socialist renewal, Bulgaria and the Soviet Union are expanding their dynamic activities for the unrelenting implementation of the joint policy developed together with our socialist allies, which is a policy of peace, cooperation, and understanding with all peoples.

Having proceeded in a spirit of comradeship, openness, and friendship, the Bulgarian-Soviet summit talks confirmed the fact that the indestructible alliance between our two parties, countries, and peoples will continue to develop and strengthen on the basis of fully equal rights, mutual advantage, and fraternal solidarity, because this is to our benefit, and because it is in the interest of the cause of socialism and peace all over the world.

Tanev Holds Talks With Italian Minister

AU0812143689 Sofia BTA in English 2304 GMT 7 Dec 89

[Text] Sofia, December 7 (BTA)—Mr Georgi Tanev, minister of internal affairs of Bulgaria, and Mr Antonio Gava, minister of the interior of Italy, made a high assessment as to the possibilities for bilateral cooperation in combating drug trafficking.

Mr Antonio Gava, who arrived here today on a business visit, sees the interaction between Italy and Bulgaria in the light of the positive changes in the world and the results of the Malta Gorbachev-Bush summit which marked the end of "cold war".

We meet to intensify our relations in the struggle against illegal drug trafficking, to make the filter put before it more efficient, said the guest, speaking before journalists. He went on to say that the interaction in fighting terrorism and organized criminality is also being discussed with Bulgarian colleagues.

After the talks held by Mr Tanev and his Italian counterpart, it became known that the problems of the so called "Balkan-road" of narcotics and of multilateral cooperation in combating illegal drug trafficking are also under discussion. It is envisaged establishing contacts with the club of the five most threatened West European countries. The target is to build a reliable barrier on the road of narcotics from the Middle East to Europe.

A bilateral agreement will be signed which will activate the exchange of information. Measures for sci-technical cooperation have also been outlined.

The agreement will be the first one to have ever been signed by an Eastern European country with a West European one.

Answering a journalist's question, the Italian minister of the interior stressed the untenability of all allegations stating that Bulgaria gets profits from the illegal drug trafficking.

At tonight's press conference Mr Antonio Gava spoke about the changes in Bulgaria in which he sees the materialization of the spirit of our time.

Antidrug Pact Signed

AU0812154489 Sofia BTA in English
1451 GMT 8 Dec 89

["Bulgaria, Italy: Joint Activities Against Narcotics Trafficking"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, December 8 (BTA)—Mr Georgi Tanev, Bulgaria's minister of the interior, and his Italian counterpart Mr Antonio Gava, signed today an agreement between the two countries' Ministries of the Interior for cooperation and mutual assistance in the struggle against the trafficking of narcotics and psychotropic substances.

This is the first agreement of this kind between countries of Eastern and Western Europe and it will doubtless serve as an example for future agreements with other countries, Mr Georgi Tanev told a BTA reporter after the signing. The document embraces all legal issues resulting from international normative acts. It includes concrete forms of interaction between the bodies and organizations, guaranteeing the due information and joint actions for discovering, documentation and stopping narcotics traffic. The type of mutual technical and methodological assistance is agreed upon. Italy will extend cooperation in the building of the modern base for the better discovery of the attempts for narcotics trafficking.

During his talk with Mr Antonio Gava, Mr Georgi Atanasov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, highly commended relations between Bulgaria and Italy.

The two interlocutors discussed concrete issues of bilateral communication. They stressed that the conclusion of an agreement between Bulgaria and Italy for cooperation and mutual assistance in the struggle against narcotics and psychotropic substances trafficking does not correspond to the interest of these two countries alone.

Some initiatives for activation of relations in the sphere of economy, culture and elsewhere were discussed.

Mr Georgi Atanasov extended an invitation to Mr Giulio Andreotti, Italy's prime minister, to visit Bulgaria at a convenient time.

Meets BZNS Leader

AU0812225189 Sofia BTA in English
1839 GMT 8 Dec 89

[Text] Sofia, December 8 (BTA)—Mr Angel Dimitrov, secretary of the Bulgarian Agrarian Party (BZNS), today received Mr Antonio Gava, a prominent functionary of the Italian Christian Democratic party and minister of the interior of Italy, who is visiting here.

The sides expressed a desire for the promotion and diversification of contacts between the BZNS and the Christian Democratic Party, which will help strengthen cooperation between the two countries.

The guest assessed in positive terms the restructuring processes in Bulgaria and the renewal in the Bulgarian Agrarian Party.

Today Mr Antonio Gava also met Mr Belcho Belchev, minister of finance.

Mladenov Message Given to Italy's Andreotti

AU0812140289 Sofia BTA in English
2242 GMT 7 Dec 89

[Text] Rome, December 7 (BTA correspondent)—Mr Julio Andreotti, prime minister of Italy, received the ambassador of Bulgaria who handed in a message from Mr Petur Mladenov, president of the State Council of Bulgaria.

The Italian statesman thanked for the message and underlined that the problems stated therein will be carefully studied and will get the best possible reply.

Zhivkov's Son, Grandson Investigated for Crimes

AU1812183089 Sofia BTA in English
1813 GMT 18 Dec 89

["Todor Zhivkov's Offspring: Under Investigation?"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, December 18 (BTA)—The Prosecutor General's Office of the People's Republic of Bulgaria has assigned the Criminal Investigation Department of the Ministry of Internal Affairs to investigate two cases surrounded with speculation. Rumor has it that relatives of the former party leader and head of state Todor Zhivkov are involved in them.

One inquest looks into the death in 1988 of Tatyana Tatyanova, a TV announcer. The proceedings instituted then were dismissed by the Sofia City Prosecutor's Office "for lack of foul play". The victim's parents have filed a complaint, and members of the public have reported further details in the case. There is a rumor that Todor Zhivkov's son, Vladimir, might have been involved.

Another investigation centers on an allegation that Todor Slavkov, Zhivkov's grandson, was involved in the rape of a 17-year-old girl in July 1988. One District

Prosecutor's Office refused to initiate investigative proceedings when the crime was committed.

The cases which have been filed now are being directed and supervised by the Prosecutor General's Office. The office said in a press release that after the investigations are completed, their findings will be made public.

Public Meeting Marks Traycho Kostov Memory

AU1612132089 Sofia BTA in English
2013 GMT 15 Dec 89

[Text] Sofia, December 15 (BTA)—"The tragic death of Traycho Kostov rudely deprived Bulgaria of the remarkable man who, after Georgi Dimitrov's death, would have become the worthy leader of the nation, successor and inspired continuator of his noble work", said Mr Stanko Todorov, chairman of the National Assembly, at a meeting held here today to mark the 40th anniversary of the death of Traycho Kostov (1897-1949), leader of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party], statesman and builder of people's democratic Bulgaria, internationalist and champion of peace and friendship among peoples.

The tragic anniversary acquires a new meaning in the difficult and restless days of restructuring, when we all undertook to do away with serious deformations in our society, the speaker said.

Mr Todorov spoke about Traycho Kostov's revolutionary activity in the struggle against fascism. He was arrested and subjected to torture many times.

In 1944 Traycho Kostov headed the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Workers' Party (Communists).

In the government formed in November 1946 and headed by Georgi Dimitrov, Traycho Kostov held the post of first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers. He made an important contribution to the preparation for the Fifth Congress of the Bulgarian Workers' Party (Communists) and the working out of the new programme of the Bulgarian Communist Party.

After 1944 a multi-party parliamentary system was established in Bulgaria, which included opposition parties, too. The state, the cooperative and the private sector carried out successful cooperation in rebuilding the country's economy.

The Information Bureau set up by nine European communist and workers' parties in 1947 imposed decisions that cut off the natural development of the revolutionary process in the European socialist countries. The people's democratic way of development was replaced by the Stalinist command-administrative model which acquired specific Bulgarian traits here, the speaker pointed out.

The leadership of the BCP was made to renounce its previous views, to change the political line of the party. But that did not satisfy Stalin. He aimed at liquidating even physically those leaders of the communist parties, who were champions of national roads for transition toward socialism. This was the basic idea in the number of trials against communist leaders in almost all people's democratic countries, pointed out Stanko Todorov.

He informed that in 1948 Stalin has accused Traycho Kostov of "nationalism and anti-Sovietism". The reason for this had been the order that Bulgarian state departments were not to give secret economic data to the Soviet representatives in Bulgaria. Stalin slanders Traycho Kostov accusing him of "gross political mistakes and deviations." At the plenum of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP in March 1949 Traycho Kostov was accused of "anti-Soviet and nationalist activity, of attempts for kindling fraction struggles for split of the Communist Party". Ousted from all leading posts he had been proclaimed for an enemy and for "banner of the internal and international reaction".

Further on the speaker followed the development of the trial against Traycho Kostov. On June 21 he had been arrested and the investigating authorities were ordered to "prove" that Traycho Kostov was an "agent of the police, connected with the British secret services". Later, in September 1949, emissaries of Beria arrive from Moscow to Sofia—counselors at the Bulgarian Ministry of the Interior. Under their instructions the investigation acquires "Yugoslavian direction"—i.e. "the anti-government plot is related with Yugoslavia".

At the fabricated trial a whole group of "enemies, spies and traitors" has been presented. During the trial Traycho Kostov continues to behave manfully and calmly. He denies decisively the lies and the slanders of the indictment. That sets the beginning of the "great plot" in the party and the arrested have been forced to write their "confessions". In connection with the trial against Traycho Kostov a total of 1080 people party and military cadres, have been also prosecuted.

"I am dying innocent" were Traycho Kostov's last words. He was hanged in Sofia in the night of November 16, 1949....

Traycho Kostov became a victim of the distortions in the political system, of the deep violation of the principles of communist morals and the laws, said Stanko Todorov.

Traycho Kostov had not been completely rehabilitated by the CC of the BCP in 1956, as it has been maintained. The accusations of "nationalist deviations, hostile attitude to Georgi Dimitrov and insincerity to the party, defeatism at the time of the antifascist struggle, anti-Sovietism" had not been removed.

The plenum of the CC of the BCP of December 13, 1989, adopted a decision which rejects and removes completely the accusations against Traycho Kostov.

The participants in the meeting laid a wreath at the monument of Traycho Kostov. At the initiative of the Independent Glasnost and Democracy Club, tomorrow

will be held a mourning procession in memory of one of the most distinguished figures of the Bulgarian Communist Party.

Meeting Honors Kostov

AU1612212389 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 15 Dec 89

[Text] On 15 December at Sofia's Georgi Kirkov Hall, a public meeting took place. It was devoted to the memory of Traycho Kostov—one of the purest sons of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP]. Today, when we mark the 40th anniversary of his death, many questions still remain unanswered. Let those answers be the concern of those who remember.

The hall was full of Traycho Kostov's collaborators and veterans of the communist movement. The following persons took their seats in the Presidium: Comrades Aleksandur Lilov, Andrey Lukanov, and Dimitur Stanishev; Anton Yugov, Vladimir Topencharov, Georgi Chankov, and Georgi Petrov, party veterans; Boyko, Traycho Kostov's son; and Lidiya Topencharova, Lyuba Kostova's sister.

National Assembly Chairman Stanko Todorov spoke.

[Begin Todorov recording] His tragic death opened a deep and unhealed wound in the party's heart and the people's memory. This wound still bleeds today in our troubled conscience. This is so because we more and more clearly understand the dimensions of this loss. Bulgaria was fatally deprived of this remarkable man, who, after Georgi Dimitrov's death, could have been the worthy leader of our nation, the heir who continued Dimitrov's great cause. [end recording]

Later in his speech, Stanko Todorov recalled instances of Traycho Kostov's responsible and dangerous revolutionary activity, his role in forming and implementing the party's political course of armed antifascist resistance, and his active position in strengthening the people's democratic government.

Comrade Stanko Todorov also spoke about Traycho Kostov's contribution to working out and preparing the documents and decisions of the Fifth BCP Congress. Some 40 years after the concocted trial and hanging of Traycho Kostov, his purity, steely stoicism in all tests, and faith in the people are the lofty criteria [words indistinct]. The Bulgarian people especially need to invoke his name now, during the revolutionary ferment that has engulfed the country.

Kostov Remembered

AU1612212889 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 16 Dec 89

[Text] Let us prove that our memory is alive! This appeal of the Club on Glasnost and Democracy attracted thousands of people, who took part in a mourning procession that marked the memory of Traycho Kostov on the 40th anniversary of his hanging.

A short while ago the procession headed along Traycho Kostov Boulevard, toward the memorial of this remarkable party and state figure. The people are carrying portraits, wreaths, and flowers.

Free Democrats Hold First Congress

AU1612174089 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 16 Dec 89

[Text] The Union of Free Democrats, which was formed on 27 November, held its constituent congress today in Stara Zagora. The union was formed by 15 politically active persons with similar views, including three from Sofia, one political scientist, four doctors, three engineers, a philologist, a music expert, an actor, and an economist, who adopted the idea of setting up a completely new political organization in Bulgaria.

The union has no ideological roots in Bulgaria's political history. It does not represent a rebirth of any of the known old parties or of any of their contemporary modifications.

Elects Stanulov Chairman

AU1612215189 Sofia BTA in English 1909 GMT 16 Dec 89

[Text] Stara Zagora, December 16 (BTA)—Today the constituent congress of the Union of Free Democrats was founded. The union declared its intentions to participate as an alternative party by political constitutional means for the building of a democratic civil society in Bulgaria.

The new party intends to participate in the forthcoming elections, in union and coalition with the other democratic forces.

A programme declaration and a statute for the union were adopted at the congress. Leading bodies were elected. The supreme body of the leadership is the Congress. The working leading body is the National Executive Council. Chairman of the party was elected Associate Prof Khristo Stanulov, Ph.D.

The next congress is appointed for January next year.

'Dialogue' With Democrats Expected 'Next Week'

AU1612171789 Sofia BTA in English
1641 GMT 16 Dec 89

["Before a Dialogue of the Independent Movements With the Authorities"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, December 16 (BTA)—Next week a dialogue is likely to begin between the Union of the Democratic Forces and the official authorities. This was announced late last night in the TV emission with Zhelyu Zhelev, Doctor in Philosophy, chairman of the Union of the Democratic Forces, an organization uniting independent associations and clubs.

Zhelev and five other representatives of independent organizations were invited to participate in a TV emission late last night, after a few thousands of people gathered before the building of the Bulgarian TV. They protested against the distorted and tendentious way, in which, according to them, the TV had emitted the previous night the rally in front of the National Assembly.

After the National Assembly adopted a special declaration, condemning the slogans at this rally as "extremist" and after the TV emission on December 14, a number of rallies were organized yesterday round the country, condemning the "extremist manifestations" in Sofia on Thursday.

Last night the representatives of the independent organizations firmly rejected the accusations of extremism. "The people in the square whistled at the deputies not because someone had made them to do so, but because of those 40 years, in which the Bulgarian had not a right to express his opinion," Petko Simeonov from the Club of Openness and Democracy said.

But the participants agreed that the whistling at Petur Mladenov and Stanko Todorov, the National Assembly chairman, "was unworthy of us as a civilized country."

On the 14th, at night, when the atmosphere before the National Assembly was hot due to the obscure situation with the discussion of Article No. 1 of the Constitution (about the BCP's leading role), several M.P.'s, and after them State Council President Mr Petur Mladenov, came out of the building and made an attempt to talk. Without a microphone and loudspeakers this could not be done, facing the tens of thousands of people who chanted slogans.

To clear its positions, yesterday the National Assembly adopted a special declaration, stating that the voting of this draft law for removal of Article 1 is postponed for the next session of parliament in January 1990, for procedural reasons.

One of the rally's organizers, the Committee of the Independent Student Associations, declared that their aim had been to place demands for autonomy of the higher educational establishments, for abolition of the exam in "civil defence," for free elections. The fact that the M.P.'s appeared in the square only five hours and a half after the beginning of the rally exacerbated the situation.

"People were simply chanting slogans. It is high time that we understand that the people can chant slogans, which are not pleasant for everyone to hear," Simeonov said.

Zhelyu Zhelev firmly rejected the accusations in extremism "as in the square there was neither violation, nor calls for violation, nor breaking of law." "The demand for resignation of M.P.'s and the government is something quite legal in a democratic country," he said.

The chairman of the Union of the Democratic Forces called for leading the struggle for democracy by democratic means.

Shumen Workers Demand Ousting of Local Secretary

AU1812191489 Sofia Domestic Service
in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 18 Dec 89

[Text] On 18 December, 20 industrial enterprises managers of the economic and other spheres handed a letter to Filyu Chakurov, first secretary of the Shumen Municipal Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP], in which they express disagreement with the committee's continuing bureaucratic-command work style, autocratic rule, and disrespect for the working people's will.

The documents points out that the BCP municipal leadership has lost the people's confidence and caused a lag in the municipality's economic, social, and intellectual development. The letter points out the striving toward ostentation in the construction program at the expense of apartment construction and the construction of children's health-care and educational establishments, and the failures in environmental protection.

Great shortcomings in the work with cadres are pointed out. They include the appointment of people with questionable professional qualities, the preference for personal loyalty, and the ousting of dissenting figures. The letter points out that the party committee is alien to public interests, that it quickly adapted to the changes, and more specifically, that there is an obvious contradiction between words and deeds in the work of the committee's first secretary.

The economic figures demand an immediate plenum of the BCP Shumen Municipal Committee, at which predominantly young people—unblemished by the distorted authoritarian system of work and leadership—will be elected.

Ecoglasnost Opens Exhibition on Chernobyl

AU1812182489 Sofia BTA in English
1755 GMT 18 Dec 89

["The Truth About Chernobyl's Pollutions In Bulgaria"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, December 18 (BTA)—"The Truth About Chernobyl's Pollutions In Bulgaria" this was the subject of the exhibition of the Independent Ecoglasnost Organization which opened here today.

The main objectives which the organization is setting before itself are: to acquaint the Bulgarian society with the major facts about the country's radioactive pollution after the Chernobyl accident as well as with the activity of the Bulgarian science in these conditions and which has been disregard by certain leading circles.

Enormous factological material has been gathered, a result of the research work carried by the scientific team of the Kliment Okhridski University of Sofia, the Academy of Agriculture, the Chief Department of Hydrology and Meteorology at the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences and the Higher Military Medical Institute.

As Prof. Tsvetan Bonchev, head of Nuclear Physics Department at the University of Sofia explains, the aim of the exhibition is to display facts in a most objective way.

Besides the facts: the break through in the reactor, the transfer of radio-active polluted air, the basic results from the country's pollution are also presented by other data, which will be of interest for the people, depending on their knowledge, profession and knowledgeability.

The journalists will see how far and how well these issues and facts were reflected in the press and doctors can judge what can be a possible problem for the health of people.

Alongside with that the exhibition is indicative of the merits of those people who had been helping all the time for the truth to be revealed so that the needed measures be taken, Prof. Tsvetan Bonchev said.

He specified that the only organization which has taken measures for the protection of its people was the Ministry of National Defense.

The scholar stresses that the conclusions after Chernobyl had changed a number of things. After this accident urgent measures had been taken for the optimization of the capacities and the maximal safety of nuclear energy in Bulgaria.

Ecoglasnost Declares Support for Changes

AU1812212289 Sofia BTA in English
1949 GMT 18 Dec 89

[Text] Sofia, December 18 (BTA)—The Bureau of the Secretariat of the World Movement Ecoforum For Peace has issued a declaration stating the positive view it takes of the changes in Bulgaria, "insofar as in their present form they inspire the hope that they are being implemented in the name of the efforts to preserve nature and life on earth."

The Sofia-based world movement Ecoforum For Peace was established by scientists and public figures of 32 countries with different political, class, ideological and religious affiliations. The movement now maintains contacts with over 500 scientists worldwide and organizes joint initiatives on a regional and global scale with similar organizations and movements in the East and the West. "This determines the stand of ecoforum for peace to the organizations and the movements in Bulgaria, both formal and informal, including the Ecoglasnost Independent Association," the declaration says.

Ecoglasnost was the first informal group in Bulgaria to be registered by a Sofia Court ten days ago. Until November 10, when Todor Zhivkov was ousted, the association was persecuted by the authorities.

The declaration says that being an international non-governmental movement, Ecoforum For Peace as a rule does not take a stand on the political situation in the individual countries and on the changes taking place in them, Bulgaria included. "The movement, however, takes a positive view of all changes which might help the conservation of nature and of life on earth," the declaration reads.

The declaration comes in response to inquiries from this country and abroad, including some from the environment and systems analysis institute in Amsterdam, Holland, and the European Ecological Politics Institute in Bonn, the FRG.

More Speeches From BCP Plenum of 11-13 Dec

Atanasov Speech

AU1812113089 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 14 Dec 89 p 6

[Speech by Georgi Atanasov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, at the BCP Central Committee Plenum at the Sofia Boyana Residence on 12 December]

[Text] Everything in our country has been unusual since 10 November. This applies to the dynamic pace at which everything happening in our country assumes a political connotation, to the sharp critical spirit, and to the expansion of new political forces. The involvement of our entire people in an active social dialogue in which everyone plays an important role and everyone aspires for a guarantee of his active position—all these phenomena are determined by our new political line of policy.

The present weeks, filled with so many hopes, once more confirmed that the party is strong when it is defending the truth. We have neglected this elementary law of

political life for a long time and by telling half-truths we undermined the people's confidence in us. We now have to reap the bitter results of our own sense of infallibility.

The party resolved a crucial problem at this plenum. **It is the question of what we are giving up, what we are striving for, and how shall we achieve the new goals we are striving for.**

We are giving up the command-administrative system, the authoritarian regime of our personal power. In other words—we are giving up the ideology and practice of Stalinism and neo-Stalinism. We are in favor of the renewal of socialism based on the values of civilization, in favor of building a law-governed civic society, and a law-governed state in accordance with the tested universal human principles of democracy. We are selecting the path of radical reforms and assuming the responsibility for their implementation. Such reforms are purifying and healing, they produce a new culture, new economic and political structures of society. We are making our choice for the sake of Bulgaria's presence and future, because we are ardently wishing to find our real place among civilized people in the common European home that is about to be erected.

The new political line of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] Central Committee divides us from a past of dogmatic concepts and actions. In revealing its own shortcomings, the party adopts new stands in which not the monopoly of power, but the monopoly of truth and democracy, the monopoly of social consent, and support should prevail.

The **truth** is that our party has found the strength and adopted the initiative of overcoming the critical, political situation.

The **truth** is that following 10 November, we are showing the crisis as it really is and as it has existed for a long time.

The **truth** has a further dimension—namely, the fact that the party has adopted a platform of action with the purpose of overcoming the dogmatic concepts of socialism, its own delusions and mistakes, and in the purpose of asserting itself as a democratic party of the people's will, capable of waging a struggle with political methods for gaining influence and winning over the confidence of the public.

Many of these requirements are new for our party. We are about to overcome the administrative, bureaucratic method of thinking and acting. Unusual things are sometimes disturbing. When everyone expresses his own stand—his wish for change and initiative for action—this may result in tension, and in certain circles it may even produce insecurity.

Attempts at political extremism, destabilization, and disorder have also occurred. Nevertheless, we would be mistaken if we should see only this aspect of the question, if we just observed the events, without acting. The main and basic issue in this context is the **level of our political activity, of our dialogue with society.** In the opposite case we will not only stand outside of the current processes, but would also deviate from our own political line.

Today we, together with all our society, are assessing the past. We are aware of our own responsibility. Like numerous other people I saw the dark sides of our life, but I paid tribute to delusions and deceptions. I had to encounter many obstacles, and I had to suffer from them, in order to reach the conviction that the only method of rescue was to dismantle the command-administrative system and to reject the regime of personal power.

We are all concerned about one question: Did we have another chance, could we have avoided the present situation? Our desire to be uncompromising and democratic, and to be careful not to replace one form of intolerance with another, or one infallibility with the other, is quite understandable.

Now, that the monopoly over truth has been lifted in the Soviet Union and in other socialist countries, we cannot fail to see that at one time the negative processes taking place in our country were not a purely Bulgarian phenomenon, that they did not solely depend upon our own understanding and possibilities.

Actually, we can forgive numerous shortcomings of the past, when the delusions of the party and of its leadership were common to the worldwide socialist system. However, we cannot and should not forgive Todor Zhivkov for the fact that he established his personal power in the most distorted forms, particularly in recent years, when a true restructuring process started in the world of socialism. This undermined the prestige and actions of our party among the world's democratic public and also among our own people.

At the present plenum, the party launched the establishment of a socialist market economy through the implementation of a profound economic and social reform as its strategic goal. This great change in our ideas is by no means accidental. Analysis unmistakably shows that the symptoms of disease in our economic system are the results of economic principles and approaches stemming from profound dogmatic delusions and from grossly arbitrary actions in economic everyday life practices.

The basic political aspect of the reform, however is not exhausted by overcoming erroneous theoretical views. We are proceeding toward actions that will renew the essence of our social life. It is the question of a reform which, based on pluralism of ownership and on diversified interests, should establish the economic basis of democracy in our country. Such a reform can be implemented solely in a democratic manner, based on the principles of social consent and with the active participation of all citizens and all organizations representing them.

Can we hope to accomplish a basic change without telling people the truth about the economic situation and the difficulties awaiting them? Can we accomplish a structural change, can we close down unprofitable plants, and focus our resources on projects likely to produce the greatest effect, can we do so without openly and sincerely stating our intentions? Can we accomplish a financial consolidation of our economy, increase the resources for the companies' self-financing without reducing budget expenditures, and placing them under nationwide control?

Generally speaking, is it possible to accomplish changes in the economic sector, without the people's consent and initiative?

No matter which problem we deal with, related to the comprehensive changes we are expected to accomplish, it directly affects **the Bulgarian government's activities.** It is a well-known fact that the government's prestige was undermined and underrated in the past. This was by no means an accidental, isolated fact. It does not apply only to the present government. This was the case with several other, previous governments that had become a simple caricature of executive organs. They existed only for being subjected to the orders of a center whose instructions they were expected to carry out. This led to an absurd monopolism in adopting strategic, as well as practical decisions related to economic management and to the administration of other spheres.

I am talking about the system of super-centralized economic power that, under our circumstances, inevitably produced sharp distortions in all spheres of social life, and finally resulted in a general crisis.

The first, great absurdity of this system was that everyone took advantage of it by uncontrollably spending state resources.

Everyone everywhere is demanding new resources, regardless of whether he has earned them, or not. No one depends on the market, or on his own efforts. The state organs that have the money and the resources available are subject to constant pressure without having real power of protecting, or preserving these resources. Under such a regime of power, the money is inevitably subject to devaluation.

We would like to increase wages in order to stop manpower fluctuation, therefore, we increase them. We would like to increase social funds because someone who knows how to complain more loudly and more effectively than the others has appealed to us, therefore, we comply with his wish. We would like to compensate certain groups of people for their political dissatisfaction—therefore, we increase their wages. We would like to assist destitute people from our own native area—therefore, we transfer some investments to that area.

As a result of all this, we used to close our financial years with budget deficits and increased the extent of the hidden inflation by legalizing the channels through which unearned money, or just banknotes [knizhni znatsi], flowed into our economic life.

In the 1970-87 period, the rate of increase of the total credit resources granted by the bank amounted to an approximate 10 percent-per-annum rate. In the same period, the remnants of the population's saving accounts had increased by approximately 9.5 percent. Knowing that the average rate of growth of the national income had been approximately 5-6 percent within the same period, we say that both the amounts of money [parichina masa], as well as the saving accounts had considerably outstripped the volume of the national income's value.

The tragedy of this self-devouring system, among other things, lies in the fact that, regardless of the existing opportunities and regardless of the rate of development achieved by the productive forces, this system promises more wealth, while it inexorably erodes the people's living standard at the same time. The per capita labor productivity in our country today is barely 15-20 percent of that of the most-developed countries. One-quarter of the state-owned companies are functioning on the basis of subsidies—the major part of which are unjustified. Their prsent size amounts to nearly 7 billion leva and this indicates low productivity, poor labor and technological discipline, and inefficient managment. In this manner, we are corrupting all those whose interests we have assumed the responsibility of protecting.

Under such circumstances we should not be surprised that almost one-fourth of the newly created national product is wasted, that over 200 million leva annually are listed as illegally earned incomes of collectives, that even according to the most cautious calculations, the annual amount of illegally earned labor remunerations and premiums within the last 10 years vary between 70 and 100 million leva. We should not be surprised that in 1988 alone over 5,7 million man-days were lost because of unjustified interruptions and unexcused absences—an amount equal to an annual average of approximately 30,000 workers. We should understand in this context that the command-administrative system cannot be dismantled unless we eliminate this kind of destructive consumerism, this self-annihilating utopia in the concepts about our social system.

The second, great economic absurdity of our curent economic system that should be resolutely overcome is the arbitrary investment and structural policy.

Megalomania is a characteristic feature of our investment policy. Pomp and a technological euphoria totally replaced economic common sense and expediency. A large material-technical basis was established compared with the size of our country. However, from the points of view of economic and social effectiveness, from the point of view of market criteria, this basis remained clumsy, alien to man's requirements, heavily dependent on exports of raw materials, incapable of coping with the hard currency market, and—altogether ineffective. We

can hardly indicate a Bulgarian branch of industry, or even a product, capable of competing on the international markets.

When I started working at the Council of Ministers in 1986, I found out that in order to balance our foreign trade, we had to cut some $1 billion worth of imports. In view of the existing circumstances, however, this could no longer be a routine operation.

Why was that so? It is so because the share of expenditures for machines and assembled equipents amounted to 40.2 percent in 1976 in convertible currency. In 1985 this share had dropped to 22 percent. However, the share of currency expenditures for materials and raw materials amounted to over 60 percent in the meantime.

Under the existing circumstances we are obliged to import annual amounts of raw materials and spare parts worth no less than $2.4-2.6 billion. This is our current economic situation at a time in which market realities have changed in both East and West, and we have lost some basic export opportunities.

Regardless of the fact that the volume of our exports has increased, the incomes from it have dropped by approximately $1-1.5 billion. We should further mention those 4 years marked by difficulties in the agricultural sector that obliged us to import annual quantities of foodstuffs worth an additional amount of approximately $200-250 million. This helps us to better understand the cause of the 8 billion leva current state debt.

Did we try to halt such trends? Naturally we did, but the attempts were doomed to failure from the very beginning. The reason for this situation was the absolute incompatibility, the total contradiction between the prevailing system of power and the objective economic laws. When resources worth a million are invested at random, only because one has just visited an industrial exhibition abroad, or inspected a foreign plant, when instead of considering the decisive influence of the market, things were decided by people who promised "strokes" and "breakthroughs," this is all you can expect. Under such circumstances we could only dream of an economically expedient investment and structural policy.

The production profiles of the plants were arbitrarily changed, and cities of gigantic proportions for our country's size were built, while entire areas were depopulated and the Bulgarian villages were destroyed. All eonomic common sense was rejected and replaced by the will of implementing personal ambitions, imposing the personal preferences of great and small leaders, by personal power. The cadres were competing in playing the role of historical figures at the expense and to the detriment of our society. How can we otherwise explain the fact that luxurious palaces for party committee headquarters and marble squares were being built before providing water supply and hospitals for the population?

The third great absurdity of the past system of economic power was the constant forcing of a "superheated" economy and the useless striving for high rates of growth. Under a civilized administration, a state should competently "heat up" and "cool down" the economy on the basis of economic regulators. In our country this most complicated activity was subjected to one-man-command instructions aimed at prestige achievements.

We all remember how, following the 13th BCP Congress, the rates of growth were arbitrarily increased while the actual congressional decisions were totally disregarded. Under the current situation of a serious deterioration of foreign economic conditions following the fall of oil prices and the incipient restructuring processes in the socialist countries, the implementation of this task not only "overheated" the economy. It was in total disagreement with the proclaimed line of self-management, with the expansion of the socialist commodity producers' activities, because this could not be achieved solely with command and administrative methods. In addition to this, considering the existing production structure in our country, this resulted in an increased imbalance of the growth and in a compulsive increase of our foreign debt. The rates of growth that the party leadership required in the purpose of consolidating its own prestige were paid for at the expense of foreign and domestic credits, at the expense of inflation and uncommissioned building projects.

Within three years the government survived and had to bear the consequences of three substantial reorganizations of production structures, two reorganizations of the organizational-management structures, and constant reorganizations of the economic management state organs. Especially in 1988, we heard frequent remarks that the economic ministries and other state organs have everything they need, but are incapable of implementing the restructuring requirements in the economic sectors, or as those people liked to express themselves, the economic organs in question were incapable of "decoding" the requirements.

During the period following the 13th BCP Congress, over 20 documents were submitted to our "grateful" economic sector. They were filled with "innovative" solutions that came from the same center and were composed by the same few people, as a rule. These documents, which covered thousands of pages, were automatically considered as laws on account of their place of origin. They not only touched upon questions of principle, but also dealt with practical aspects of the economic mechanism, with planning, production, and management structures; they dealt with wages, prices, taxes, banks, credits, currency, and the cooperative movement. This ideological monopolism, which was unique for our epoch, prevailed over every problem and subject. It was a painful period of difficult problems, and the government was unable to cope with such problems. The atmosphere became particularly oppressive when

the precipitating avalanche of memoranda and reflections came upon us like a flood, and the manifestations of incompetence and scheming behind the scenes that characterized Todor Zhivkov's entourage threatened to submerge us.

The main lesson we learned from all these events is: Renewal is all right, but beware of innovative enthusiasm that verges on chaos. Our long-time experience taught us how we should not work in the economic sector and how we should not deal with economic issues. Could we have reacted against these arbitrary actions? Yes, we could have done so, provided that we had a normal democratic structure of power and democratic mechanisms for exerting power, provided that the government should have been an operating organ ednowed with executive power.

Now that we are discussing decisive problems of our lives, problems related to the future and present of our economy, of our state and party, we must resolve the two following basic questions:

One of these questions is related to the establishment of a fully authorized government, endowed with all its rights and playing the role that is appropriate for a power structure in every civilized state, depending solely on the National Assembly. This should enable us to begin at once with the practical implementation of the readiness expressed in our plenum report and related to the separation of functions between party and state. We should realize that the further involvement of party leaders in production and economic questions is in total contradiction with the party's new policy and with the principles of economic reform.

This does not mean that the party should withdraw all its interest from the economy, but it means that it should alter its approaches and methods. A total change of our former concept on the nature of national economic management is called for. Only an economic mechanism whose principles are formed on a legal basis, which is controlled and protected by the law can be effective. This presupposes that a new economic legislation should be enacted after being adopted by the National Assembly.

The other question is related to putting the activities of the Council of Ministers into operation on the basis of pluralism. It is necessary that the government should start a broad dialogue with all social forces. Under the existing sociopolitical situation, this is not a tactical move, but part of our party's strategy for democratic renewal of the political system. It is only on the basis of permanent and broad dialogue with the public, through glasnost and openness in all its actions, that the government will be able to become an effective state organ. In this manner, the government will be built and act on the principle of political consent by taking into consideration and observing a balance of economic and political interests in our country.

Our economic situation urgently requires prompt consolidating measures. I would like to report to the BCP Central Committe that within the forthcoming months the government intends to submit a program on its activities and measures for economic stabilization to the National Assembly for discussion. We are planning to submit a package of measures based on the principles of the Politburo report and on the views of our scientists, scholars, and economic experts.

The immediate and long-term tasks in this area should be based on the same principles, namely on the requirement for a drastic turning point in the structural policy determined by new priorities; on a basic change in the management of our national economy on the basis of the principles of market economy. We shall be obliged to renounce some resource-consuming and currency- consuming plants and restructure them. We shall be obliged to restructure some basic national economic structures and proportions, an act that will be rather painful. We are expected to proceed toward a reduction of the administrative-management personnel and of workers whose labor is not efficiently used.

The most important goal we are expected to achieve is the stabilization of the country's financial and currency balances and the acceleration of economic reform. We shall devote particular care to the stabilization of our domestic market. In our government program we shall abstain from unjustified promises and abstract phraseology. We shall honestly say what we can rely upon, and what we are incapable of achieving, we shall point out the inevitable difficulties that are awaiting us.

I am confident that we shall be successfull in our economy and in politics and that we shall restore the people's confidence, because the BCP is proceeding toward restructuring socialism in accordance with the laws of universal, human progress.

Dimitrov Speech

AU1812171889 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 15 Dec 89 p 4

[Statement by Boyko Dimitrov, member of the BCP Central Committee and minister of foreign affairs, read at the BCP Central Committee Plenum on 12 December]

[Text] This is my first opportunity to speak at a plenum of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP]. I think that I have the right to explain my past and my position from this rostrum, and perhaps I even must do so.

My biography is very simple. I was born in the city of Pleven. My parents—Kosta Zlatarev and Mara Dencheva, both party figures and professional revolutionaries, perished in the struggle against fascism. After 9 September, I was adopted and raised by the Georgi Dimitrov family. I grew up and completed my secondary education in Moscow. In 1963 I returned to Bulgaria and began to work here.

The beginning of my adult life coincides with the years after Stalin's death and the 20th CPSU Congress, when

the personality cult was unmasked and condemned, and when the breakup of Stalin's stereotypes began. My point of view and position in life were precisely formed during that time of hope, and precisely under the influence of the ideas and reforms of the first perestroyka of that time, which unfortunately, proved to be short-lived, inconclusive, and ended with sliding back toward 2 decades of neo-Stalinism and stagnation.

I allowed myself to lapse into those remarks, so that I could be better understood.

First. For me there can be no other personal or political ambition other than to be worthy as a citizen and Communist of the memory of my parents and my family name.

Second. At this fateful moment for the party and state, for me there can be no other personal or political position other than a position of total and unreserved support of the real renewal of socialism on Bulgarian soil, a renewal that is radical, revolutionary, and irrevocable.

Many of you could say: "It is easy to make such declarations after 10 November. By the way, comrade, what have you done during the 'historical April course?'" The question is legitimate. I, as everyone else, owe such a report to the party and the state.

I shall not describe separate episodes. The comrades with whom I have associated and worked during various stages—from my student years until today—know very well my real opinions, behavior, and attitude toward Todor Zhivkov and his circle.

Nevertheless, I shall return to one specific moment of the recent and darkest past, when the regime of personal power reached its total degeneration.

It was December 1988. I was among the first who registered at the BCP Central Committee "Administrative" Department to speak at the BCP Central Committee Plenum, which was set for 13 December. Nevertheless, I was not given the floor. According to Grisha Filipov, who chaired the session, "there was no time." At my proposal, the plenum decided to disseminate to all Central Committee members the shorthand protocol, which was to contain the statements that had not been read. However, the decision was not carried out—"in order to save paper." Recently Comrade Prodan Stoyanov imparted that because of my statement, which was not read, Milko Balev had proposed discussing my "anti-party behavior" at the Politburo.

What in my unread statement actually caused the "uproar?" I shall acquaint you with some of its parts, because I think that the issue is still topical. This is how the statement began:

"Why is it that despite the favorable domestic and international conditions... restructuring in our country got stuck?...

"The basic contradiction that is pulling us back...is the contradiction between the relapses of the administrative-command approach and the essence of restructuring as a process of such qualitatively profound changes, which can successfully be implemented only on a broad democratic basis and only by democratic means and methods.

"Precisely against the background of this contradiction I would like to draw your attention to the issue of the style, methods, and organization of the BCP Central Committee's work. I think that without any justification, this issue is being neglected both in our elaborations and practical deeds....

"What, according to my opinion, is necessary?"

"Generally speaking, the Central Committee must turn from a primarily representative and consultative forum, as it is now, into a really functioning and decisive organ of political leadership. This requires eliminating the deformation, transplanted in our country since the time of Stalin, and restoring in practice Lenin's constituent division of rights and responsibilities, and functions and competency, between the Central Committee plenums and the working organs formed by the Central Committee—the Politburo and Secretariat."

This is the background of my first appearance from this rostrum, despite the fact that I have been a member of the BCP Central Committee for almost 9 years, and this is the end of my second term. It is true that in the past, for a long time I did not want at all to speak at the plenums. On the contrary. It was impossible to tolerate the atmosphere of flattery and conformity. I was revolted by the empty talk of the duty speakers, who followed the prepared scripts. We really reached the verge of the precipice.

The cause that began on 10 November affords us the possibility to leave this swamp, which is fatal for the party and socialism, and advance toward eliminating the neo-Stalinist authoritarian-bureaucratic system.

I think that we all are aware of the obvious political, constitutional, and statutory guarantees that are necessary in order to prevent a relapse toward past practices.

First. A limited-term-of-office system of 2 terms or a total of 10 years for any leading post in a central leading organ of the party and state.

Second. Secret balloting for all elective posts, including the head of state, head of the government, chairman of the National Assembly, and party leader, and a choice of alternative candidates.

Third. Total glasnost, autonomous press, and public control over the mass media.

Fourth. Sociopolitical pluralism, which must not reject a priori the multi-party system.

Fifth. A civic society, a law-governed state, and supremacy of law.

The issue emerges of the limits of the ideological and sociopolitical pluralism. For me, the answer is clear and simple—everything that is constitutional, humane, and serves the interest of the people, is admissible. Precisely the people, and only the people are those, who under conditions of real and active people's government, rather than a formal and imaginary fiction, will set those limits. Naturally, this does not mean that we, as Communists and party, will be indifferent toward the fate of the socialist selection, made by our people on 9 September.

When we speak about the total and final elimination of the authoritarian-bureaucratic system and the cult, which is its inevitable product, I would like to point out another aspect of the issue.

Two preconditions, in addition to everything else, are needed in order to create a cult around the personality of a certain leader. The first is the susceptibility of the relevant leader to flattery. The second precondition—this is the circle, i.e., the persons, who because of personal self-interest exploit his human weakness. In the case of the party, it is we, or the Central Committee, that represent this precondition, namely, the leader's political circle. From this point of view, all those who are present in this hall, i.e., the entire plenary composition of the Central Committee, each of us, have their own personal and specific contribution to the sad plight in which the party and country find themselves now. I also include myself in this unpleasant conclusion.

Since we are speaking about responsibility and guilt, we should also speak about "repentance." I myself would rather define what we must do as self-purification. I mean the self-purification of everyone of us and of the entire party organism. This process began on 10 November, and continued on 16 November and at the 8 December plenum.

There is another important thing—we must boldly, decisively, and broadly promote new and fresh persons among the youth as well as older and unblemished Communists to responsible party posts. We must not waste any time.

Finally, let me mention our foreign policy. I consciously avoid this topic because, first, I totally support what was said about this topic in the report. Second, as a Communist and leader of a department charged with conducting the foreign policy of the country in accordance with its national interests, defined by the National Assembly and the government, I think that I can and must appear here not with declarations, but first of all, with deeds and results.

Let my just say a few words about a specific issue. I would like to express special satisfaction with and support of the fact that in its report, the Politburo took a clear stand about the necessity of conducting a profound and comprehensive analysis at the Central Committee of such a fateful issue for our domestic stability and international interests, as the ethnic issue. I believe that in the near future, in accordance with the priority importance of this issue, we shall begin a broad, serious, and impartial discussion of all the aspects of the ethnic issue.

Lilov Speech

AU1812172489 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 15 Dec 89 pp 4, 5

[Statement by Aleksandur Lilov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and Central Committee secretary, read at the BCP Central Committee Plenum on 12 December]

[Text] I shall speak about three issues. The first refers to the core of the assessment of the country's present situation. The entire analysis of this issue was made in the Politburo report read by Comrade Petur Mladenov. I categorically support him. Simultaneously, I think that now it is especially important that we understand the essence and core of the situation that emerged in the country. I think that we could define the essence of this situation as a crisis. Our country really is in the midst of a political and economic crisis situation. Hence, the great and increasing poignancy of the situation in the country.

The crisis in which we find ourselves has two dimensions. The first is the crisis of the authoritarian type of socialism and of the administrative-command system in all socialist countries, regardless of whether they have admitted this fact or not. This is a difficult and rather painful process, which has its international dimensions. This is not a crisis of socialism in general, but precisely the crisis of this specific type of socialist society. Despite the fact that this is a painful process, I think that from a historical point of view it has its positive aspects. Socialism has a future only if it could renew and restructure itself.

The second aspect of the crisis refers to the specific crisis of our own Bulgarian authoritarian socialist society. Ours, the Bulgarian variant of the crisis, is characterized by the accumulation of grave mistakes and extremely repulsive deformations that generated great social tension, which was concealed, suppressed, and neutralized by demagogy, pseudo-innovation, repression, and the degeneration of the role of the former party leader into monolithic absolutism in the party and society. Grave unresolved problems and deformations, dissatisfaction, and tension accumulated inside our society. On the outside—there was imitation of innovation, brutal repression of any attempt to criticize, and the emergence of a circle of dishonest, often incompetent people without any authority, but personally loyal to the leader, who formed a circle around him.

The decay of the administrative-command system in our country reached a high degree and assumed uncivilized forms that were offensive to our nation and party. Therefore, today the consequences are so grave and the dissatisfaction so explosive.

We cannot overcome the international and domestic dimensions of the crisis if we do not qualitatively change our theoretical and political thinking, and if we prove incapable of analyzing the realities as they are today, and not as we would like them to be. The fact that we are in a crisis must not terrify us. Historical experience corrects our illusory and dogmatic notions about the crisis-free development of socialist society. The authoritarian Stalinist model and the deformations that are known to all were bound to lead us into a crisis. However, it would be terrible if we as a party and Central Committee failed to realize that we are in a crisis. We must not be terrified by the fact that the people's confidence in the party has been undermined by the mistakes and deformations that have been allowed. This is the political price that we are paying and must pay. However, it would be terrible if the party failed to realize that there is a crisis in the people's confidence, if it failed to listen to the people's criticism and did not honestly and openly accept their assessment, and did not restore the people's confidence and support through a new policy and actions. The people are tired and revolted by the empty words, demagogy, and mediocrity of Todor Zhivkov's regime. They would like to know whether we intend to and can carry out a radical restructuring.

This is what will determine the confidence of the people in the party. This, and not Article 1 of the Constitution, which as you see has outlived its time, will determine the role of the party as the political vanguard of society.

Now is not the time to assess the scope of the successes and failures in our development. This does not mean that we shall agree to the defamation of the party and socialism. There can be no hesitation and intrigues on this issue. This means that the important factor now is that we understand the critical nature of the situation, correctly analyze it, and find the correct means and ways of resolving it.

The Politburo report is a significant step in the right direction. Simultaneously, I think that the necessity of an extraordinary congress is indisputable. We cannot allow ourselves to lag behind the development of events or the logic of the process of restructuring. The extraordinary congress is the opportunity, and perhaps the chance of the party to create in a timely way the necessary political, organizational, ideological, and cadre conditions for overcoming the crisis situation in Bulgaria.

The second issue refers to the party assessment of the responsibility of Todor Zhivkov, his regime, and his circle. I share the presentation of Comrade Mladenov. I am sure that Comrade Lukanov, as chairman of the special commission that has been founded, will speak comprehensively on this issue. I am interested in several fundamental aspects of this issue.

I think, comrades, that the gravest inheritance that the party receives from the 33-year long regime of Todor Zhivkov is the Todor Zhivkov phenomenon itself, as a deformation, and in certain aspects, as a degradation of the party principles, moral, and leading role.

I do not mean the personal dramas of many comrades, or retribution. I do not mean to give in to emotions, waste state wisdom and vision, and replace cries of "hosanna" with "crucify him." I also do not mean to reduce everything to the political and moral degradation of Todor Zhivkov and ignore the great and most essential issue for the party: Why our system produces dictators, why we tolerate them so long, and why we replace them so slowly and painfully. As long as we do not democratize the system, new variants of party and state leaders of the totalitarian type will inevitable emerge.

I mean something else. We cannot restore the confidence of the people if those who are responsible for the crisis are not named, and held politically, and—where there was abuse of power and violations of the law—legally responsible. This is not only a just and harsh warning to all of us, but also a political inevitability, because it has already become one of the basic demands of the broad people's masses and social forces.

Of course, we cannot struggle against the lawlessness by illegal means or by new violations of the law. We need the absolute competence of the appropriate party and state organs, strict observance of the law, total glasnost in studying and resolving this issue, and civilized attitudes and procedures.

We also cannot afford to begin a witch hunt and settle personal scores. I think that it is the social, political, and moral responsibility of the Central Committee to seek responsibility from the guilty ones, in order to eliminate the abuse of power, corruption, and amorality—and not in order to seek revenge, no matter how great the personal pain is.

In addition, I agree that all of us without exception, I repeat, without exception, must see our own guilt and responsibility. We must not do penance in sackcloth and ashes, but rather assume honest and dignified political and moral positions.

I also have my own political and moral responsibility because I have not done everything that I had to do. We used to justify ourselves too much with the existing conditions, tolerate certain things too long, and too easily got used to the abnormal phenomena and manifestation. We lost too much time.

Regardless of what justification we now find, we all must seek our own personal guilt and responsibility, along with the merciless criticism of this cancerous phenomena in our party, political life, and social moral. If we fail to do so, we shall not open a new page in anything related to the party and our own conscience, and even less vis-a-vis the people and especially the younger generation.

The final issue refers to the party's assessment of and attitude and policy toward the informal organizations. I

am not a politically naive person and do not underestimate the serious character of the problem, the difficulties created by certain members of those forces, and the unforeseeable risks and events that may occur tomorrow. However, I am deeply convinced that we shall make a great political mistake if we remain captives of the total negativism and conservative attitude toward this new phenomena in our society that have asserted themselves so broadly in our circles. This new phenomenon does not have a monolithic character. Its spectrum ranges from Communists and active fighters against fascism and capitalism, to real patriots and champions of democracy, to radical extremists and reactionaries. The same applies to their slogans.

What do I think is the essential factor? We must understand that those movements are a product, I stress, a product, and an attribute of restructuring. Whoever does not understand this runs the risk of failing to grasp the essence of the phenomenon and, most importantly, its quickly growing social and political influence.

The party must not be late in working out an adequate assessment of and attitude toward the informal organizations. The German and Czech comrades were late in grasping this fact and paid a high price. It does not matter whether we like or dislike their leaders, slogans, and manifestations. The important thing is that they became a real social force, which tends to grow even faster.

I am deeply convinced that the correct line of the party on this issue is a policy of dialogue, a realistic, constructive, and correct dialogue with all informal organizations that support restructuring, glasnost, the democratization of society, free elections, and ecological protection, and whose members are sincere patriots, regardless of their ideological, religious, and ethnic affiliation. They can and must be our partners and, many of them, our allies in the struggle to renew Bulgaria's socialist society. Naturally, the dialogue with them will be difficult; however, the other alternative is confrontation that could lead to tragic consequences, as happened in certain countries, something that could turn the clock of restructuring back, and undermine Bulgaria's internal stability and international prestige. Of course, by no means should we underestimate the destructive positions and reactionary goals of certain forces within some of those organizations. With them we shall not conduct a dialogue, but a political struggle. We also cannot allow chaos, violence, provocations, and violations of the law. This is clear. Everything must be done on the basis of our Constitution and the laws. However, what is more alarming is the fact that we, as a party, have still not fully grasped the need to establish normal relations with the informal organizations.

I think that the Politburo report makes a great step forward and represents not only a package of essential and exceptionally important initiatives for the work of the party in various spheres of our society, but is also a clear message to the constructive forces in the informal organizations.

In conclusion, I would like to express my determined support for the party's political course of restructuring, the package of measures presented at the plenum by Comrade Petur Mladenov, and his election as general secretary of the party's Central Committee. This was a good choice. Now is not the time for personal ambitions and scores. Now is the time to fulfill our duty, and each of us will face a difficult test not only before the party, but also in the absolute sense of the word—before the people.

I have a clear political and moral awareness of my personal duty now, and will do everything to fulfill it.

Bulgarian National Democratic Union Forms

AU1812122689 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 9 Dec 89 p 6

[Vasil Kh. Popov report: "Association Established"]

[Text] Sofia, 8 December—The Bulgarian National Democratic Union was established in Sofia today. In explaining the reasons for establishing this association, it was stressed that traditional Bulgarian national virtues, such as personal and national dignity, industriousness, love of the land, mutual assistance and mutual rspect, charity, hospitality, and loyalty to the ancient national values, as well as humanitarian feelings, have been disregarded over the years. The Bulgarian national idea that rallied our people for the sake of doing good and serving the fatherland has been neglected. However, we can join the common European home only if we enter it as an enlightened people, strong and self-confident, with confidence in its leaders.

The association assumes the task of working to the fatherland's benefit, according to the needs of our epoch and in accordance with all democratic principles. It is by no means accidental that the founders are going back to the ideals of national hero Vasil Levski and of the Bulgarian national revival pioneers who devoted their lives to an immaculate and sacred republic. The association will strive for freedom of speech and press, for freedom of religion and concience, for historical glasnost, and rejects the falsifications of our ancient and new history. The association will struggle for consolidating the spirit and self-confidence of the Bulgarian nationals, of those who were born and are living in our country, but also of Bulgarian citizens residing abroad, for elevating the concept of national dignity and honor. One of the association's task is to further unify the Bulgarian national community, to rescue and reaffirm those national virtues that characterize the Bulgarians as a people, and to strengthen the ties between patriotic emigration and the motherland. The association will also extend its missionary activities to bringing our legislation in harmony with international documents adopted, and also intends to get involved in ecological activities to

protect our soil and nature, for the sake of the moral and demographic revival of our people.

At their first gathering, the constituent members unanimously elected Corresponding Member of the Academy of Sciences Nikolay Genchev as their chairman.

Union of Legal Consultants Established

AU1512160889 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 9 Dec 89 p 6

[Text] A Union of Bulgarian Legal Consultants was estblished on 5 December in Sofia. Its tasks are to strive for a solid legal system in the country, to defend professional interests and establish a stable, legal statute for all legal advisers in the country and for the numerous rank and file lawyers and law graduates.

Zdravko Daskalov was elected chairman of the union; Ivan Slivov was elected secretary. Antonia Piperkova, Georgi Angelov, and Eva Zhivkova were elected members.

Expert Views Minimum Living Standards

AU0912223389 Sofia BTA in English 1739 GMT 9 Dec 89

[Text] Sofia, December 9 (BTA)—The minimum of subsistence in Bulgaria has not been studied since 1987, says the economist Mr Lyuben Tomev in an interview for ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME.

In 1987 price terms, the minimum of subsistence averaged 165 leva (200 leva for the economically active population, 100 leva for pensioners and 110 leva for students).

The expert says that 60 per cent of Bulgaria's pensioners live below this line, which is not adjusted to the consumer price index fluctuations.

"I believe that the current method of pension allocation literally breeds poverty in this country," Mr Tomev asserts, and he says that young married couples and large families, single mothers and employees in some loss-making branches should also be listed among the socially disadvantaged.

The interviewee points to the need of a dramatic reduction of the margin between the largest and the smallest pension, which according to some information are in a proportion of 1 to 20, and according to Mr Lyuben Tomev are in a proportion of 1 to 12. He suggests that the average 352 million leva received in the exchequer annually as a state and social insurance residue could be used to remedy this flagrant inequality.

Further on Mr Tomev analyses the Bulgarians' spending and purchasing power. Food accounts for up to 40 per cent of a household's spending. The so-called consumer goods basket varies widely according to estimates of a study conducted last summer into consumer shortages and the cost of living with 1979 as a base of comparison. The scarcity of staple foods ranged from 40 to 50 per cent in the 58 municipalities around the country where the study was carried out.

The acute consumer goods bottlenecks are one of the obstacles to the accurate calculation of the cost of living index in the country.

The so-called hidden price rises are also hard to detect. In Bulgaria, three principal methods are used to hike prices surreptitiously: by re-labelling, by eroding an item's use value without reducing its price, and by capitalizing on the unsaturated demand, as consumers are compelled to buy the more expensive article which is available once the cheaper alternative is in short supply.

The cost of living index is still not listed in official statistics. The planned development of the national economy was supposed to result automatically in the respective improvement of living standards. The results of this policy are evident now, the economist says in conclusion.

Readers Polled on Mladenov's Popularity

AU0912202789 Sofia BTA in English 1659 GMT 9 Dec 89

["Petur Mladenov's Approval Ratings"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, December 9 (BTA)—70.4 per cent of the respondents in a TRUD opinion poll conducted in Sofia among readers of the newspaper trust Mr Petur Mladenov, and 11.4 per cent of them describe their trust in him as absolute and unreserved.

According to the survey, the results of which appear in today's TRUD, most of those polled motivate their trust with Mr Mladenov's personal accomplishments: clever, erudite and internationally experienced.

Another 18.7 per cent take a more critical and skeptic view. They say: I trust him for the time being, I trust him up to a point, I do and I don't, I would like to trust him.

Only 6.2 per cent of the respondents say they mistrust Mr Petur Mladenov.

In terms of age groups, the largest proportions of those trusting the head of state are the over-61's (80.7 per cent). Next come those between 51 and 60 years (75 per cent) and the under-20's (71.9 per cent)

Those who categorically mistrust the BCP leader are mostly between 31 and 40 years of age.

Official Comments on Union of Democratic Forces

AU0812212589 Sofia BTA in English 2022 GMT 8 Dec 89

["Union of Democratic Forces in Bulgaria Secretary Interviewed"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, December 8 (BTA)—Biologist Petur Beron, secretary of the Union of Democratic Forces in Bulgaria which was established yesterday, said today that he has no political ambitions whatsoever. He said, however, that other members of the union might have some political ambitions even though they keep them to themselves for the time being.

Interviewed on the Khorizont Programme of the Bulgarian Radio, Mr Beron pointed out that the members of the Union of Democratic Forces do not have a common platform. "We still don't have ready recipes for running the country and we don't claim any ministerial portfolios, we don't seek to take over the posts of some people whom we really want out. These posts should be filled by appropriately qualified people," he said.

The Union of Democratic Forces was co-founded by the Independent Association for the Defence of Human Rights, the Ecoglasnost Independent Association, the Podkrepa Independent Labour Federation, the Committee for the Defence of Religious Rights, Freedom of Conscience and Spiritual Values, the Club of the Victims of Unlawful Repressions Since 1945, the Independent Students Society, the Civic Initiative Society, the Bulgarian Workers Social Democratic Party (United) and the Nikola Petkov Bulgarian Agrarian People's Union.

"We will be a union which for the time being coordinates the activities of ten independent associations and parties which retain their independence but will coordinate their actions when they call joint rallies, when they submit joint petitions to the authorities, when they participate in a possible round-table discussion with the government, provided it would do so, and in working out possible platforms for future elections and other moves intended to speed up the democratic processes in the country," Mr Petur Beron explained.

The first initiative of the newly established union is a rally which it announced it will hold in front of the Aleksandur Nevski Memorial Church in Sofia on Sunday.

The secretary of the Union of Democratic Forces described as "ultra-conservative" an instructions circular from the Secretariat of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] which, as it transpired, was sent to the BCP primary organisations and committees around the country yesterday.

"This is a lucky time but it irritates too many people and they consider it abnormal. This is evident from the leaflet of the Secretariat of the CC of the BCP, circulated to the BCP branches, which could have been written by Nina Andreeva herself. It is dated December 7, 1989 and not 1959," Mr Beron said, referring to a teacher in a Leningrad institute who gained notoriety for her conservative views in the Soviet Union.

Appeal by New United Front for Restructuring

AU0812143589 Sofia BTA in English 1319 GMT 8 Dec 89

[Text] Sofia, December 8 (BTA)—OTECHESTVEN FRONT writes today about the establishment of a Social United Front for Restructuring and Protection of Socialism in Bulgaria.

A summary is printed of the organization's appeal received in the daily, prepared by the initiative committee, including resistance fighters, scholars, participants in the Patriotic War, officers from the reserve and youths.

The appeal was received at a rally of 600 people, held in the capital city.

The document expresses the full support for the party and state new leadership and stresses that the organization's struggle is directed against Todor Zhivkov and his clique, who have brought the country to the brink of a catastrophe.

It is stressed that the Social United Front declared itself against all reactionary and conservative forces, which use the present complex situation in the country to turn it back to capitalism.

An appeal is made to unite round the united and purged BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] on the basis of its new course, as well as to bring to an end the renewal of the party and state leadership.

An urgent convening of the BCP 14th Congress is demanded, to discuss the new general line of the BCP and elect a new Central Committee and a Central Control and Auditing Commission. There is also a demand for a new constitution and renewal of the whole legislation.

The issues is also raised for quick rehabilitation of all people who were innocently punished.

Tanev Outlines Changes in Interior Ministry

AU0812143389 Sofia BTA in English 1302 GMT 8 Dec 89

[Text] Sofia, December 8 (BTA)—The leadership of the Ministry of the Interior of Bulgaria supports completely the course of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] for making more dynamic the innovative processes, says in an interview for today's OTECHESTVEN FRONT Mr Georgi Tanev, minister of the interior. He assesses the recent meeting between the leadership of the ministry and the Bulgarian party and state leader Mr Petur Mladenov as constructive. Immediately after it, measures have been outlined for participation of the ministry in the dissolving of the command-administrative system.

These are: Firstly, transferring part of the guard activities and of the authorization regimes to the competence of the municipal councils, to the Ministry of Justice, to

branch ministries, to the work teams; secondly, for strict determination of the professional competence of all structures of the ministry; and thirdly, for active participation of the ministry in the improvement of the law protection system.

Georgi Tanev explains that the changes in the ministry will give opportunity for reduction of part of its employees.

It is pointed out however that at present there exists a shortage of personnel at a number of places and that every underestimation of the social importance of the activity of the ministry's bodies can lead, as can be seen from the experience of other countries, to increasing of criminality and violations of public order.

The minister speaks of the activity of the already dissolved Department Six of State Security which has been created in 1968 for counter-actions against the "flexible" forms of undermining of socialism, "ideological diversion" included. The interview reads that during the last 10 years there have been 243 trials and 372 people have been convicted in connection with the attempts of foreign centrals [intelligence services] to form illegal structures in Bulgaria; for illegal import and spreading of slanderous literature.

The department was also responsible for the preservation of the huge cultural and historical heritage of the country. Since 1986 only, the employees of the department have prevented smuggling unique items of great value out of Bulgaria, the archives of the Macedonian-Edirne Liberation Movement included. The National Art Gallery got back 250 canvases, hundreds of early printed books were recovered for the National Library and hundreds of icons were returned to the crypt of the Aleksandr Nevski Cathedral. Gold and silver unique items, the total catalogue value of which is more than five million U.S. dollars, were handed over to the Bulgarian museums.

This security service department was engaged in fighting terrorism. It is announced that in the last decade 33 inquests were held of cases of making preparations and carrying out acts of terrorism and 81 persons were investigated.

Only some units of the former Department 6 had to perform tasks connected with the struggle against the so-called "ideological diversion", pointed out Georgi Tanev, adding that this activity was been carried out within the framework of the operative legislation.

It is admitted that certain provisions contained in the Penal Code allowed a rather broad-sense interpretation, thus giving rise to subjectivism and unscrupulousness in some cases.

Minister Georgi Tanev pointed out that the not sufficiently clear formulation given to of the idea "ideological diversion" opened a possibility to suppress criticism. In the struggle for ideological purity certain tasks have been devolved upon the Ministry of the Interior units, he said.

Practically there was a knitting together of superior political structures with separate security service units, which inevitably leads to replacing political methods and public dialogue by administrative pressure and manipulating personalities. Such a line can have no future, that is why the structures for struggle with ideological diversion have been disbanded, the minister points out.

Georgi Tanev says also that the personnel of the dissolved Department Six are at the disposal of the leadership of the ministry at present.

The interview views also the question about the control over telephone conversations. The minister expresses the opinion that the revealing of criminal deeds at certain moments can impose the need of such control. And what is more, the world organizations for long-range communications and post services, to which Bulgaria is a member, as well as the Bulgarian legislation, obligate the carrying out of such control on the communications in the framework of the struggle against terrorism, illegal arms traffic, drug trafficking, spreading of pornography, the persecution of dangerous criminals.

It is emphasised that all actions in this direction require a special procedural order, that the experience accumulated by law-abiding states should be followed. Namely: The data from this control, acquired in conformity with the law, should be presented to the person and his defence; the data should have the force of evidence at the trial.

Interior Ministry Discusses Crime Problem

AU1812122389 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 8 Dec 89 p 6

[Report by Atanas N. Atanasov and Plamen Enchev on news conference by leading Ministry of Interior Affairs representatives in Sofia on 7 December]

[Text] Are there still any "taboo" topics for the public in relation to the work of the organs of the Ministry of Interior Affairs in Bulgaria? The meeting held in Sofia on 7 December between representatives of the leadership of the Ministry of Interior Affairs and journalists from the mass media demonstrated that it is impossible to give a positive or negative answer to this question.

This is quite natural, because the ministry's specialized organs will increasingly open their doors to the public, but it is fairly certain that, at least for the foreseeable future, specific details about those parts of their work that concern the country's security will remain safely veiled.

How do responsible leaders of the Ministry of Internal Affairs regard this opening up? On 7 December the ministry opened a Visitors' Office at No. 29, 6th September Street, Sofia. There, on every workday from 0815 to 1300 hours and from 1400 to 1730 hours, citizens may

ask questions, and make suggestions on improving the work of the Interior Ministry organs. Agreement has been reached with the leadership of the Television and Radio Committee to broadcast 10 minutes of current information on the actual situation in the country, on cases completed, the detection of especially dangerous criminals, stolen cars, and so on. A regular practice will be established of giving briefings and news conferences to journalists.

"We are still suffering from the syndrome of spurious secrecy," Ivan Dimitrov, deputy minister of internal affairs and director of the People's militia, pointed out in his extensive statement. "Even the charts with official data on crime in Bulgaria that we brought here remained hidden from the journalists until the last moment. Today the People's Militia is seeking specific and satisfactory ways to complete its restructuring. Plans are being made to set up a municipal militia under the total control of the people's councils. This militia will be relieved of certain inappropriate functions."

Here is some of the data that we believe will be of interest to our readers:

—During the first 11 months of 1989, 43,783 criminal offenses were recorded. Of these, 27,449 related to the theft of public and private property, 16,227 to housebreaking, and 1,480 to cases of premeditated murder, rape, and robbery. The percentage of crimes committed by minors continues to rise, and 27,023 of all crimes have not been cleared up.

During the same period, 7,417 cases economic crimes were discovered, resulting in losses totaling 39,543,776 leva, of which 26,556,211 leva have been recovered and returned to the economy.

The social and legal status of the militia officer presents an acute problem. This is connected with the prestige of the profession, without which it is impossible to establish the militia's new role in society. Our present laws, for example, contain no provisions that create real guarantees against illegal acts committed against uniformed militiamen. It is therefore no accident that vacancies exist for militiamen. There are 850 such vacancies in the Sofia militia alone.

In the FRG there is one policeman for every 280 inhabitants, in the United States the figure is one for every 500 persons, whereas in Bulgaria we have one militia man for every 900 inhabitants.

At the present time we have about 2,000 officers engaged in detecting criminal and economic offenses; 7,169 militiamen maintain a 24-hour duty in the defense of public order, while 2,002 officers are employed in road traffic duties. As we have already mentioned, about 10 percent of these posts are not filled.

Here are some figures on the salaries of officers of the People's Militia:

The salaries of sergeants and station sergeants start at 273 leva [per month], and may rise to 360 leva after 20 years service. The pension that they draw after this service starts at 198 leva. Lower-ranking militia officers start on a salary of 315 leva; their salaries may rise to 431 leva, and they receive a pension of 265 leva.

The journalists' questions were answered by the following: Stoyan Stoyanov, first deputy minister of internal affairs; Kostadin Kotsaliev, chief of the Main Investigation Administration; and Yordan Ormankov, spokesman of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. At the forthcoming session of the National Assembly, Minister Georgi Tanev will deliver a detailed report on certain issues connected with complaints by citizens about violations of their rights.

Daily on Party Stance Toward Opposing Groups

AU1812141689 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 8 Dec 89 p 1

[Editorial: "Democracy Is Responsibility"]

[Text] The change that we are carrying out and are striving toward, the change that the party is spearheading, is an objective requirement of natural development. In seeking firm ground to stand on in the achievements of socialism to date and in the constructive ideas for renewing socialism, we are obliged, all of us together, to create both favorable conditions and the necessary guarantees for this.

The events in the days following the November plenums of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] prove the firm intention of the party and the new party and state leadership to implement the radical change that everyone wants. An open dialogue has started with the people, in which things are called by their true names. At the rallies held, on the pages of the newspapers and journals, and in the radio and television transmissions everyone can freely express his opinion on the burning issues affecting the country. Glasnost is expanding. Albeit not without difficulties, everything is being cleared away that created a gulf between power and the people and diminished the mutual trust between them.

In this situation, where society has become strongly politically oriented, thus proving how necessary and timely the changes under way really are, predominance is being given to Bulgaria's positive, confirming, and stimulating socialist development. The party is relying on this, and on this basis it should widely and boldly develop the renewal of the party and public organizations, the labor and territorial communities.

Nevertheless, the wave of emotions that have been engendered by certain negative social facts and phenomena is carrying along with it people, speeches, and actions that, at the very least, are nonobjective and intolerant, and which in practice may obstruct advances along the road toward democracy, glasnost, and

humanism. Attempts are being made to discredit in one way or another the party, the state and public organs, and the mass media, and to disparage and even renounce what has been accomplished and achieved in 45 years of socialism.

It is precisely at this complex juncture of the change toward democracy, toward broad expression and clashing of different opinions and viewpoints on social development, that we need more than ever to show tolerance and respect toward the opponent, political maturity and civility, human ethics, and a sense of civic responsibility. Calls and acts that contravene the Constitution and the other laws and run contrary to the public order and discipline that come naturally to everyone, or which undermine in practice political, economic, and social stability, can only hinder restructuring and democracy. One finds "patriots" like Petur Gogov who not only make threats and declare ultimatums, but also preach reactionary ideas that are unacceptable even in capitalist countries. Although such people are very few in number, we cannot fail to be alarmed by the displays of violence in relation to innocent people who are only guilty of living and working in the town of Pravets [home town of Todor Zhivkov]. Quite a number of students seem to consider that democracy means not carrying out their elementary commitments, such as attending lectures and classes and continuing one's studies.

The party organizations and the Communists have a particularly heavy responsibility at the present. The situation requires that they abandon the passive "wait-and-see" attitude and quickly find their feet in the events, maintaining everyday contacts with the people, correctly explaining the essence and importance of the processes under way and the aims of the changes, and creating an atmosphere of implacability toward everything that obstructs renewal and the finding of solutions to the problems. The times demand active political work and struggle in the name of the truth for the sake of the country, socialism, and their future. Of course, while doing this, one must also show respect toward any opinion, creating conditions for constructive discussion on the problems of the party, society, and state, and accepting every useful idea. At the same time one must also abide by the principles of democracy, glasnost and pluralism, the rules of polite political dialogue and civilized relationships. Together we must strive to create a form of organization of society and authority that will make it impossible to return back to the times of the administrative-command system.

Let us emphasize once again that all this can be achieved when stability reigns in society, in which a concrete program for emerging from the crisis can be worked out calmly and on a broad social basis, a program for solving the problems existing in the labor collectives and territorial municipalities and for precisely marking out the course for the country's further development. At the moment we vitally need democracy, glasnost, and pluralism, but we need even more work and achievements that lead to a new, worthy existence for the people and every man.

Democracy, as proved by the experience of the most democratic states, is synonymous with responsibility: responsibility for every word and action, and responsibility for which there is only one yardstick, namely the will, interests, and ideals of the people

Newly Founded Writers Organization Noted

AU1812115989 Sofia LITERATUREN FRONT in Bulgarian No. 49 7 Dec 89 p 2

[Text] The Independent Association of Bulgarian Literary Workers was founded on 15 November 1989 in Sofia with a Constituent Committee composed of 25 people. We are releasing this news to the mass media only now, following the meeting of the Constituent Committee and the first members, which took place on 23 November.

The Independent Association of Bulgarian Literary Workers is an independent organization and its activities will be based on Bulgarian legislation and on the decisions of its own democratically elected organs. The goals of the association are as follows: optimum development and application of pluralism, tolerance, and democracy in our cultural life. The activities of the association will focus on freedom of speech, printing and publication. The association will insist on restoring the good reputation of all cultural workers repressed for political reasons in the past. The association distances itself from manifestations of authoritarianism, and national, religious, or ideological fanaticism.

The association is an organization of creative and scientific writers and is not an alternative organization to already existing creative unions. It will be a partner of the creative unions in its defense of members' rights.

The Independent Association of Bulgarian Literary Workers supports the state's efforts to develop and intensify the processes of renewal in culture and society and to strictly observe international agreements signed in Helsinki and Vienna.

All those who intend to apply for membership in the Independent Association of Bulgarian Literary Workers are asked to submit their applications to the following address: Andrey Manolov, Sofia, 4, Bulgaria Boulevard, or Natasha Yancheva, Sofia, 625, Vitosha Boulevard.

Sofia Law Courts Returning to Judiciary

AU0712181189 Sofia BTA in English
1606 GMT 7 Dec 89

[Text] Sofia, December 7 (BTA)—Deputies of the National Assemblies proposed to the Council of Ministers to return the Law Courts Building in Sofia to the Ministry of Justice for the needs of justice administration.

It is expected that the government will decide the question these days.

The Law Courts Building in Sofia, built 60 years ago, is one of the most representative buildings in the Bulgarian capital. It is situated on an area of 8,500 square meters, in the very centre of the city. The interior of the building features precious mosaics, stained-glass, sculpture figures, bronze pieces by renowned Bulgarian artists. The building was designed in the twenties especially for the needs of courts in Sofia. As it is noted in the proposal of the Commission for Protection of Public Interests and Citizens' Rights "the law courts fulfilled well their purposes and was like a judiciary symbol in Bulgaria."

In 1979 with a resolution of the then Politburo of the CC [Central Committee] of BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] and with a decree of the Council of Ministers the Law Courts Building was given for the needs of the National History Museum. That decision caused broad discontent among jurists and citizens. It was a public secret that the idea for this decision belonged to Lyudmila Zhivkova, the late daughter of Todor Zhivkov.

The proposal of the parliamentary commission reads that the turning of the law courts into a museum has brought serious moral damages and has distorted the work of administration of justice. The work of regional courts has also been hampered. "The buildings in which they were accommodated have been not only insufficient but also inappropriate and humiliating to the prestige of these institutions," reads the proposal. It is also added that this act had a negative effect on the opportunities of the citizens to defend their lawful interests.

"In this case we face a disrespect to law and to the administration of justice, and what is more it has been realized through a government act," reads the proposal of the M.P.'s.

During the recent days at rallies and meetings in Sofia and the country the public protested and insisted on the returning of the Law Courts Building to the judiciary. At the same time requests were also raised to return to the judiciary other buildings as well, which have also been built for law courts and taken away at different times by other departments.

Government Proposes Normalizing U.S. Trade Ties

AU1812192389 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 8 Dec 89 p 7

[Josef Nyvlt article: "Czechoslovak Steps Toward Normalizing Economic Relations With the United States"]

[Text] Washington (From our own correspondent)—Jiri Nemec, CSSR deputy minister of foreign trade, held talks with Dennis Kloske and Thomas Duesterberg [name as published], U.S. deputy commerce secretaries, in Washington on Thursday [7 December]. During the talks, he submitted draft principles for the further development of Czechoslovak-American economic and commercial relations.

During the meeting, Jiri Nemec announced that he will ask the President of the United States to exercise his authority and, in harmony with American commercial law, contribute to removing discriminatory measures on Czechoslovak goods by 1 January 1990 at the latest. He also announced that he is prepared to negotiate immediately with the United States on concluding a trade agreement.

He also announced that Czechoslovakia is interested in access to American Government credits and credit guarantees; it is requesting the same kind of assistance that the American side offered to Poland and Hungary, including aid for the development of the private sector and in training managers.

Czechoslovakia is also striving for American support for its entry into international economic organizations such as the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, and so on. It envisages the normalization of Czechoslovak-American relations within the framework of GATT (General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade).

Czechoslovakia is requesting access to modern technologies and assumes it will be possible to limit American export controls on the most fundamental items.

The Czechoslovak Government will provide guarantees on the payment of imports from the United States. An agreement has been reached between the government and opposition that the current overall favorable state of Czechoslovakia's economy will not deteriorate. The Czechoslovak Government will also guarantee partial payments for the appropriate American credits. J. Nemec stated that Czechoslovakia's foreign debts are moderate and that the situation is not comparable to that in Poland or Hungary.

Czechoslovakia can offer the American private sector the most advanced work force in Eastern Europe and can guarantee a return on capital invested. The CSSR offers American companies access to the necessary economic and commercial figures and guarantees that modern American technology will be utilized exclusively for peaceful purposes.

The American partners welcomed the changes taking place in the CSSR. They promised to consider the submitted proposals in connection with the stabilization of the internal situation in Czechoslovakia.

Jiri Nemec will also hold talks in Washington with representatives from the State Department, the Chamber of Commerce, the Office of the United States Trade Representative, the International Monetary Fund, and the World Bank.

Soviet Public Figures on CSSR in '68, '89

AU0912181589

[Editorial Report] Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 6 December on pages 1 and 6, under the headline "Better Late Than Never..." carries a 1,200-word report on replies by various Soviet public figures to questions from Vladimir Jancura, Bratislava PRAVDA's correspondent in Moscow, about their reaction to the Warsaw Pact representatives' and Soviet Government statements of 4 December on the Soviet-led invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968.

Academician Andrey Sakharov tells Jancura that, although there are some "imprecise formulations" in the Soviet Government statement as well as "an attempt at self-justification," the very fact of the two statements' publication is "very positive" and he feels "great relief." Sakharov also "welcomes the successes of the Czechoslovak democratization movement," saying that "they drive Soviet perestroyka forward and are an example for us."

Political scientist Vyacheslav Dashichev says that this reassessment is a "long-expected act which should have come much sooner" because the suppression of the Prague Spring also had a "very negative impact on life in the Soviet Union, conserving the Stalinist model of socialism." Dashichev recalls that he had already demanded such a reassessment in an article in MEZHDUNARODNAYA ZHIZN in July. Asked about his view of current developments in Czechoslovakia, Dashichev says that "he is enthusiastic" about the "lightning revolution" in Czechoslovakia and the "humane way in which it is carried out" and adds that "it can only benefit the building of a common European home on renewed, healthy foundations."

The official reassessment of August 1968 and the current events in Czechoslovakia are also welcomed by IZVESTIYA commentator Stanislav Kondrashev.

LITERATURNAYA GAZETA's Oleg Bitov, finally, tells Jancura that the Soviet Government was prepared to issue such a statement in spring of this year but that "as far as I know it was not so much Jakes as Fojtik who categorically opposed the reassessment of the year 1968." Bitov also notes that, had the democratization process in Czechoslovakia not been "brutally suppressed" 21 years ago, it would have been much easier to push through perestroyka in the Soviet Union today.

USSR Congratulatory Letter Handed to Calfa

LD1212190989 Prague CTK in English
1721 GMT 12 Dec 89

[Text] Prague, Dec 12 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Premier Marian Calfa received here today Soviet Ambassador to Czechoslovakia Viktor Lomakin who handed him over a congratulatory letter from the Soviet Council of Ministers on his appointment Czechoslovak premier.

The Soviet Council of Ministers expressed the conviction that the traditional relations of fraternal friendship, alliance and all-round cooperation between the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia will further fruitfully develop and contribute to the revival of socialism, strengthening of peace and international security.

CTK Views 'New Trends' in Pact Foreign Policy

LD0812152389 Prague CTK in English
1458 GMT 8 Dec 89

[CTK headline: "New Trends in Warsaw Pact Countries"]

[Text] Prague Dec 7 (CTK)—Dramatic changes in Eastern Europe are opening new insights into both bilateral and multilateral relations between the Warsaw Pact member states. Practically since the first days of the Soviet restructuring new trends have been manifesting themselves. The dynamics of internal changes bears necessarily its impact on openly formulated foreign policies with their pros and cons.

Specific features of individual internal policies in individual countries will be ever more strongly reflected in foreign policy of the Warsaw Treaty member states including their bilateral relations. We have some fresh examples already: Poland opened the Katyn case. Hungary the problem of its national minority in Romania and the case of the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros water dam system has acquired also clearly political colouring. Furthermore, Poland protests against discriminatory measures taken by the GDR against Polish citizen working there as far as their "buying rights" are concerned and the same reaction came from Poland to the Czechoslovak measures against the so called "shopping tourism". The so far hidden mistrust of East European countries of confederative tendencies in the FRG and GDR presents an independent problem.

In the present conditions one can have doubts whether the factual excuse of the Warsaw Pact countries for their August 1968 invasion of Czechoslovakia has settled finally the relations of Czechoslovakia towards other countries of this community. Opened will also be a number of economic, ecological, financial, and political problems. Namely political as against the military mechansims of the warsaw treaty should become the most suitable ground for solving many of the much delayed problems. This is all the more needed for the uneven pace of restructuring in different East European countries can generate new collision.

Army Tells Government To Dismantle Iron Curtain

AU1512105789 Paris AFP in English
1044 GMT 15 Dec 89

[Text] Prague, Dec 15 (AFP)—The Czechoslovakian Army has told the government to dismantle the "Iron Curtain" along the border with West Germany, new defense minister General Miroslav Vacek said Friday.

He told a press conference that the army command had proposed taking down the barriers "along the entire length of the borders" with both Austria and West Germany.

The dismantling of the barriers along the common border with Austria started Monday, following a decision taken November 30.

Further Coverage on Upcoming Presidential Elections

* Cisar Voices His Views

90EC0159A Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
8 Dec 89 p 4

[Report on interview with Presidential Candidate Cestmir Cisar: "Cestmir Cisar in His Own Words: What Kind of Socialism is at Issue"; date and place not given; first paragraph is RUDE PRAVO introduction]

[Text] In accord with our principle to keep the public informed and our effort to develop a nationwide dialogue, we are publishing in the pages of the RUDE PRAVO views of political figures and positions of organizations and movements from a broad national spectrum. Today we are bringing the full text of an interview which RUDE PRAVO obtained from the one-time secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, now one of the representatives of the club Obroda, Cestmir Cisar.

[RUDE PRAVO] You re-entered politics and you are presenting yourself as an adherent of democratic socialism, which the club Obrada was the first to espouse in its program strategy. What kind of socialism do you have in mind?

[Cisar] First of all, I must correct you a little. After my forced departure from public life after 1968 I was silenced but remained a politician. I followed carefully events here and abroad and wrote commentaries, views, and also longer essays. During the 20 years this amounted to hundreds of typewritten pages.

I have in mind the kind of socialism that develops under conditions of a modern democracy to satisfy the material and spiritual interests and needs of all social strata and groups, of each and every individual. I am against a regimented, authoritarian, antihumanistic system which only hides behind the word socialism.

[RUDE PRAVO] How do you explain that today many people active in public life are striking the word

socialism out of their vocabulary? For example, Vaclav Havel maintains that he does not know what that concept means.

[Cisar] I do not think that Mr Havel, educated as he is, would know nothing about the hundreds-of-years-old socialist aspirations or movements. I believe that when he says that, he has in mind that repugnant Stalinist totalitarianism which had its specific offshoot also in our country and which even I condemn. The people who until recently stood at the head of the CPCZ bear a terrible guilt for discrediting socialism precisely because of their aberrant policies.

Today the socialist movement is developing along different streams of which the Stalinist stream has been among the main ones for decades. Now it is rightly being shattered. At the end of the 20th century it is absurd to propagate socialism and struggle for man's wellbeing by subjecting the same man to the dictatorship of a narrow oligarchy of leaders. Socialism since its inception has meant the liberation of man and therefore everything that is contrary to man's freedom is not socialism. In this spirit the CPSU embraced perestroika and other parties are following suit.

It cannot be denied that democratic socialism represents great social values in advanced European countries, where variously shaded socialist, social democratic, as well as reformed communist parties are active. We have to draw also on their experiences.

[RUDE PRAVO] Am I to understand that club Obroda is striving for the kind of socialism such as, for example, exists in Sweden?

[Cisar] I cannot say that without reservation. We are working in Czechoslovakia and we have our traditions and specifics. We are a nation with a past without a great aristocracy and without a monopolistic bourgeoisie. Because of that our public life shows such noticeable traits of populism, populist democratism as well as of social compassion, which was, after all, analyzed, among other things, by sociologist T.G. Masaryk already at the end of the 19th century.

It was, of course, a mistake to stress our national specifics and at the same time confine ourselves within the shell of Stalinist ideology and practice. We live in Europe which has its history of civilization and culture from antiquity to this day, and we cannot ignore that. The content of our socialism must be Europeanism in the best sense of the word, that is, humanism, the cult of man and not the cult of power. This is exactly where we can learn from our neighbors in the West, provided they follow socialist goals.

[RUDE PRAVO] But there is after all a difference between democracy under capitalism and socialist democracy?

[Cisar] Democracy is, in my opinion, one of the most appropriate and effective ways of societal life and ways of administering it, under any kind of order. It has its autonomous features, independent of class, national, or other factors.

Capitalist relations can develop better under democratic conditions than in bourgeois dictatorships. It is the same with socialism. It can best mature ideologically and be purposefully implemented in a democracy, but fares worst under something like the Stalinist regime. History has proved that with certainty.

[RUDE PRAVO] You were a member of the CPCZ until 1970. Are you going to rejoin it if it embraces democracy and sets a program close to your concept?

[Cisar] No, I wish to remain without political affiliation. That way I feel free and independent, which as a politician I consider to be a great advantage. Frankly speaking, I do not like that old classic partisanship which even today is so ostentatiously showing its horns. People realized that hiding behind some attractively sounding slogans are above all power ambitions.

Of course, in politics are active people with certain programs which they can push through only by sharing power, at least until now. It should just be done honestly, fairly, and honorably, in the spirit of great political cultivation. The renascent program of the CPCZ can be—in spite of reservations—welcomed. The question is whether this party can internally restore itself enough ideologically, politically, and from the cadre aspect to be able to realize it in practice.

[RUDE PRAVO] You want to remain without party affiliation, but nevertheless: do you have anything to say to CPCZ members in the current situation?

[Cisar] That puts me in a delicate situation, but I shall try. Maybe this way. I get letters from citizens, and from communists as well, who confide their views in me and ask what they should do. One leading Czech artist writes, for example: "Decent and productive people are giving up their party membership and remaining are those with whom we do not have and never had anything, or only very little, in common other than conflicts.... To remain in the CPCZ is as if one supported the nonsensical maneuvers which lack a concept. To leave the CPCZ in the current situation looks like an opportunistic move."

Such arguments are frequent and it certainly is not by chance that a movement of communists who think in terms of democracy and reform and who are endeavoring to put meaning back into membership in the CPCZ is growing within the party.

I think that the crisis inside this party is truly profound and that it exposes all the horror of the agelong destructive policies of its leadership. For so long it held it in its grip and under its tutelage, it forced it to submit to absurdities and stupidities until it brought it to the brink of destruction.

I see two alternatives: either the party will resolutely and quickly get rid of the obdurate dogmatic sectarian faction and enable other communists to find the new way of democracy, or this faction will continue to cripple it and push it toward political suicide. Who constitutes this faction is notoriously well known. It is up to the communists themselves to decide—time does not wait.

[RUDE PRAVO] Do you think that the standing of the CPCZ is so compromised and its crisis so serious that it may be replaced by another political force?

[Cisar] The CPCZ as the avantgarde of socialism failed, and if it does not restore itself, then inevitably a new, leftist political movement will arise which will bring together all honest, democratically thinking socialists in our country who did not lose their common sense, did not give in to panic, and are ready to create a new party, a party of democratic socialism, that would otherwise be absent in a pluralistic system of the political spectrum. It is in the interest of the working class and other working strata, in the interest of the nation and the state, in the interest of the entire European socialist Left.

Dubcek on Candidacy

AU1312140389 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 11 Dec 89 p 3

[Interview with Alexander Dubcek by unidentified Czechoslovak Radio and CTK correspondents in Bratislava on 10 December: "On Candidacy for Presidency"]

[Text] Bratislava (CTK)

[Question] At many rallies organized in the last couple of weeks in Prague, Bratislava, and elsewhere in the republic, the Czechoslovak public has been expressing a spontaneous demand, reflected in the chanting of "Dubcek to the Castle." What is your stand on this momentous demand?

[Dubcek] I think that this question should be answered directly, just as directly as it was put. The fact is that not only have I been actively appearing at various forums recently but that I have not left politics for the entire 21 years, in fact. This is the basis of my reply to the raised question. When our society got into motion again, after 21 years, I must know where my place is. The fact that these spontaneous voices are coming from below, from the street, speaks for itself. After all, the street is part and parcel of the nationwide movement. Our forefathers used to say: "Vox populi, vox dei." History as a whole shows that the decisive movement always started in the streets. This is where people's motion takes place. I am one of them. Even though I never aspired to such high honors, it was impossible for me not to feel this great spontaneity. I have been working with the people all my life and people will decide how things will continue. In my perception there is a continuity with the year 1968, which is what stimulated the current movement of renewal. The fathers of those who have hoisted the banner again are still around, after all, and their message must be brought home. I want to assist in this in every conceivable way. Let me therefore repeat that my candidacy for the presidency must be decided by the people.

For 20 long years I have been subjected to persecution—after all, I and my whole family were constantly under the security forces' supervision. But politics is made [not only at the top but] at the bottom as well and I believe that this is where I have found my place. Therefore, I have never left politics.

[Question] The events of these days cannot be perceived in isolation from what started in 1968. You are a symbol of the process of renewal of 20 years ago and embody continuity with this process. Your candidacy for presidency would be an act of political and moral justice. This is the opinion of the majority of our people.

[Dubcek] I must say that I constantly have before me those hundreds of thousands of people before whom I stood and whom I addressed at Letna Plain but also those who supported our renewal in 1968. In the event of my candidacy being confirmed, I would understand it as a rehabilitation of an offended nation but also as a continuation along the road on which the young have embarked. There is a clear continuity with what their fathers were doing 20 years ago. You have said that I am the candidate of the street but I must add that, so far, no one from the official quarters has consulted me about this matter, with the exception of the new leadership of the Slovak National Front. In reply to a question about my candidacy I promised that, if it is believed that I could be helpful to the renewal in society, they have my consent. Several civic initiatives from Prague have also expressed themselves in this sense. My reply was the same. However, it is the people of this country who must have the final say.

[Question] A public opinion survey from last week gave you the top ranking, in both the Czech Socialist Republic and the Slovak Socialist Republic, in the category of popularity based on confidence. Meanwhile, however, you seem to have grown silent....

[Dubcek] This is not the case. I continue to work actively. It is a question of the space that is given to one. You media workers know best the power of the mass media. Should the question of nationality be raised, it is not important what language people speak but what they say and, above all, what they do. It is clear to all of us that today we need, above all, competent and qualified people. As I know the people of Prague, the Moravians, the Skoda workers from Plzen, or CKD workers, these things are clear to them. The people there think directly, on the basis of their life experience. And they also act accordingly. After all, this became clearly evident at the Letna Plain or in Wenceslas Square.

[Question] As a politician who always had at heart the well-being of the people, the development of democracy, and a genuinely human face [ludsku tvar] of socialism,

which tasks do you consider to be of foremost importance at present, for us to quickly overcome the phenomena of crisis and to be able to fully devote ourselves to creative work?

[Dubcek] I consider the present process irreversible because, unlike 20 years ago, there does not exist today any serious external obstacle. Today it is really the people who will determine the further development. Steps of principle have already been taken which establish the decisive prerequisites for this process, for democracy. An open and sincere policy will now be needed, a policy that must be linked with the realization of people's aspirations and ideas.

All this is necessary for the full development of the ideas that were postulated by the Great French Revolution, ideas which inspired us and which inspire also today's movement; all this is necessary for the implementation of democracy, freedom, independence, brotherhood, and everything connected with this. This is what was on our minds also 20 years ago. We were applying in life openness, which is called glasnost in the Soviet Union today. We abolished censorship and opened ourselves to the advanced democracies of the West. Today we must guarantee that the beautiful Czechoslovak patriotism be applied to the full in all spheres of social practice, for workers and farmers, for the working people to be able to carry through their true ideas and aspirations. Our society must speedily start removing deformations caused by the past leadership in social life, morale, economics, and so forth. I am convinced that with the enthusiasm of the past few weeks we will definitely accomplish this. Czechoslovak patriotism has reached a level which guarantees this.

SSM Supports Cisar

AU1312215189

[Editorial Report] Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech on 11 December on page 1 carries a 400-word "Statement by the Socialist Youth Union Central Committee Secretariat," adopted on 10 December. Besides welcoming the resignation of President Husak and the composition of the new Federal Government, the statement voices support for the election of a new CSSR president from several candidates and "recommends" as presidential candidate Cestmir Cisar, "whom students had proposed for this post already 21 years ago." No other reason for the Socialist Youth Union Secretariat's support for Cisar is given.

Opinion Poll on Election

LD1312202789 Prague CTK in English 1423 GMT 13 Dec 89

[Text] Prague, Dec 13 (CTK)—Over 80 per cent of Czechoslovak citizens agree that a new president should be elected in a referendum, according to an opinion poll conducted by the Institute for Public Opinion Research of the Federal Office of Statistics on Tuesday.

Only a small part of the 292 people questioned in the poll, coming from all parts of the country, being of different ages and from different strata, are of the opinion that a president should be elected by the Federal Assembly as it exists today.

Asked whom they would propose as president, the respondents mostly opted for Vaclav Havel, Ladislav Adamec, Cestmir Cisar, third in the Czech Socialist Republic, and Alexander Dubcek in the Slovak Socialist Republic.

Other candidates included Marian Calfa, Vera Caslavska, Milan Cic, Jiri Dienstbier and Valtr Komarek.

In view of the character of the poll the results are not representative to the full extent but show basic trends in opinions.

Political, Social Groups Views

LD1312221689 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 2030 GMT 13 Dec 89

[Text] Representatives of the National Front of Czechoslovakia Central Committee, Civic Forum, the Czechoslovak Communist Party, the Czechoslovak People's Party, the Czechoslovak Socialist Party, the Socialist Union of Youth Central Committee, and of striking students, had talks this evening in the Valdstejn Palace in Prague, behind closed doors about the current political situation.

The main content of the talks is clarification of views on the method of election of the president of the republic.

Referendum Called

AU1512154189 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 13 Dec 89 p 8

["RP"-signed commentary, printed in its entirety in boldface: "Let the People Decide!"]

[Text] A referendum is the supreme expression of democracy. It is a historically tested act of the most democratic method of expressing the free will of the people, which has acquitted itself well in all social systems. It is all the more surprising that such fighters for democracy as the Civic Forum are now so resolutely opposed to a popular ballot on a matter of such importance as the election of the head of state.

Let the people decide!

Writers Urge Election of Havel

LD1812113689 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 0900 GMT 18 Dec 89

[Text] The Czech Writers' Association appealed to the Federal Assembly deputies to vote in a regular and lawful election of the president of the republic for the playwright and writer Vaclav Havel on their behalf.

In their open letter they said there is no other person who could be described better and more fittingly as a symbol of national understanding. The personality of Vaclav Havel provides ethical, human, and social guarantees, the members of the Czech Writers' Association write in their letter to the Federal Assembly.

Civic Forum Group Supports Havel

LD1812112489 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1000 GMT 18 Dec 89

[Text] The Civic Forum of the enterprise Moravian power enterprise Vsetin, combine of the high-voltage electrical engineering plant in Prague, has sent a letter to the Federal Assembly chairman, expressing its disagreement with referendum as a form of presidential election. It describes the referendum as too lengthy a process for the current situation, which would not bring society so much needed calm but would present the very opposite. The communist deputies' demand is only another maneuver.

The Civic Forum of the abovementioned enterprise supports the candidature of Mr Vaclav Havel as president.

Students Urge Public Elections

LD1812173789 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1600 GMT 18 Dec 89

[Text] Student representatives today presented Stanislav Kukral, chairman of the Federal Assembly, with a letter demanding that parliament elect the president of the Republic publicly, before the eyes of television viewers.

Information on the agenda for tomorrow's Federal Assembly session, however, shows that the president will not be elected tomorrow.

Havel Discusses Session

LD1812211189 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 18 Dec 89

["Text" of interview with Vaclav Havel by correspondent Miroslav Langer on 18 December; place not given—recorded]

[Text] [Langer] Mr Havel, what do you expect, or what do you fear from tomorrow's session of the two Federal Assembly Chambers?

[Havel] I think it is going to be a rather important session. I expect its first and main item will be the policy statement of the government of national understanding, and I expect this statement, including various quite specific government initiatives concerning the course of that very session, to satisy the Czechoslovak public. That is what I hope.

What do I fear? I fear that the deputies will be afraid of something, but I do not know exactly what. If they are afraid that someone will put pressure on them there or treat them badly, then their fears are quite groundless. The students will await them with bread and salt. They will try to explain to them that as Federal Assembly deputies they have a great opportunity to serve their country by the very fact that they are attending the session. If they are somehow afraid of the fact that they are going to have to elect a president and that they will be caught unawares because they do not know who to elect, [Havel chuckles] then I would like to say that I am not, of course, clairvoyant and I do not know how the meeting is going to go, but all my information and all my feelings tell me that no president is going to be elected tomorrow.

[Langer] May I ask another question? No doubt you have also heard that crime, in general, is rising, because various sectors of the public security are, for one reason or another, starting to feel uneasy. What would you say to that?

[Havel] I can only say that I would ask these various sectors of the Public Security not to feel uneasy, because they have no reason to do so.

[Langer] Do you know anything about the situation in our Army at the moment?

[Havel] Yes, I do know something about it, and I think that I should perhaps say this. First: General Vacek, the minister of national defense, enjoys the full support of Civic Forum and the Army should listen to what he says. Second: I have heard that various strange moods are spreading in various units, that some kinds of emissaries are going around the different units calling on the men to start various hunger strikes and other things. I do not know who these emissaries are, whether they are some kind of troublemakers trying to provoke people and poison the atmosphere, or whether they are some kind of naive patriots who believe they will serve a good cause by doing this, but I would like to take this opportunity to tell the troops that they would do better at the moment to listen to the minister of national defense than these various envoys or emissaries, no matter who they are, and regardless of whether their motives are good or bad.

[Langer] Mr Havel, last Saturday you made a speech on Czechoslovak Television, and your speech was also published by the daily press. Is there any special message you would like to give to radio listeners, even though they are, of course, the same public?

[Havel] If radio listeners only listen to the radio and do not watch television, then what I have is not a message for them, but a request to radio to [words indistinct] to them.

[Langer] No doubt that will happen.

Cisar Withdraws

LD1812211389 Prague CTK in English 2100 GMT 18 Dec 89

[Text] Prague, Dec 18 (CTK)—"I do not insist on being a presidential candidate and I do not wish to be put forward", Cestmir Cisar said in a TV address here tonight.

He said he was sincerely interested in contributing to the calming down of atmosphere among the public, to the acceleration of the transition to a matter-of-fact solution of pressing issues concerning the state and society, to the halting of harmful passions, to the sound development of democracy and human coexistence of people.

He said he knew well the qualities of Vaclav Havel, and met with him and stated that Havel's and his own ideas and programs are identical in principal issues. His election means that a personality deserving confidence and respect of all people will come to Prague Castle, Cestmir Cisar added.

Socialist Party Supports Havel

LD1812213689 Prague CTK in English 2103 GMT 18 Dec 89

[Text] Prague, Dec 18 (CTK)—The Presidium of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party, on behalf of the whole party, proposed Czech playwright Vaclav Havel to the post of Czechoslovak president, at a session here today.

This recommendation is based on views of a great number of rank and file members of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party who see the prerequisite of the stabilization of the present situation in an urgent election of Vaclav Havel Czechoslovak president due to his moral and human qualities.

The participants in the session demanded a change in the consitution so that the election of the president need not be made within fourteen days.

Civic Forum Official on Elections

LD1812222189 Prague CTK in English 2122 GMT 18 Dec 89

[Text] Prague, Dec 18 (CTK) - At tomorrow's meeting of the two houses of the Czechoslovak Federal Assembly, deputies will hear and maybe approve a program statement of the new Czechoslovak Government, Petr Pithart, head of the Civic Forum council, said at a press conference of the Civic Forum here today.

The Federal Assembly will probably have to pass an act to prolong the period stipulated for presidential elections. Due to the unclear sitaution in the Czechoslovak Communist Party and the club of Communist Deputies, the Civic Forum supposes that it is necessary to delay some fundamental decisions to the time after an extraordinary congress of the Communist Party. It concerns mainly a change which will enable to reconstruct the present parliament, he continued.

In Petr Pithart's opinion, it is not quite certain if new draft rules of procedure of the Czechoslovak Federal Assembly which would regulate the way of the president's election will be submitted to the Federal Assembly already tomorrow. Civic Forum believes that the president should be elected by open and nominal vote of deputies. According to the Civic Forum, this way of election is an opportunity for many Federal Assembly deputies to save their reputation with voters. If the draft rules of procedure are not passed, the Civic Forum will have to reassess its stand on the election of the president, Petr Pithart stated, adding that Vaclav Havel has rejected so far to participate in pre-election campaign which could in his view cause harm to the prestige Czechoslovakia has in the world today.

Alexander Dubcek is very likely to stand for the post of Federal Assembly Chairman, which is the last function he held on the political scene in 1969.

Students To Demonstrate for Havel

LD1912080389 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0500 GMT 19 Dec 89

[Text] As Martin Mejstrik, the representative of striking students, said on television students will gather today on Wencelas Square to demonstrate their support for Vaclav Havel's candidacy for the Office of the President of the Republic. The originally planned gathering in front of the Federal Assembly's building has been transferred at the request of many deputies. Only a section of students will be in front of the Federal Assembly to welcome arriving deputies with bread and salt as well as flowers.

Calfa Tells Parliament To Elect Havel

AU1912134789 Paris AFP in English 1303 GMT 19 Dec 89

[Text] Prague, Dec 19 (AFP)—Czechoslovak Prime Minister Marian Calfa called on parliament Tuesday to elect playwright and Civic Forum leader Vaclav Havel as president by the end of the year. Mr Calfa was addressing deputies at the opening of a parliamentary session broadcast live on television.

He said the election of Mr Havel, whose human rights activities contributed to the ending of more than 40 years of Communist party rule, would be "the guarantee of moral renewal" prior to the holding of free legislative elections.

CPCZ Presidium Proposes Organizational Changes

LD1812184689 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 18 Dec 89

[Text] The Presidium of the Czechoslovakia Communist Party [CPCZ] Central Committee, meeting today in

Prague, discussed preparations for the Extraordinary Party Congress. Josef Hora, its spokesman, told newsmen that the Presidium would be proposing to the congress that the new general secretary be elected from among two or more candidates by a secret ballot of all the delegates. It would also be recommending that the Central Committee be about one-third smaller than it has been previously.

Instead of the existing Presidium of the Party Central Committee, it would recommend that a Political Executive Committee [politicky vykonny vybor] should be elected at the congress with a small Secretariat.

Democratic Forum Stance

LD1812201789 Prague Television Service in Czech 1830 GMT 18 Dec 89

[Excerpts] Josef Hora, spokesman of the Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ], has briefed journalists on the session of the CPCZ Presidium. [passage omitted] Josef Hora then briefed the journalists on the results of the extraordinary congress of the Communist Party of Slovakia.

Then Rudolf Prevratil, a spokesman of the Democratic Forum of the Communists, spoke on the stance of this forum prior to the Extraordinary CPCZ Congress which calls for new people in the CPCZ leadership, a completely new structure of the apparatus according to democratic organizational order, submitting the analysis of the causes of deformation and adopting a public statement of the responsibility of the CPCZ for its previous policy, and a statement on the democratic principles of future policy.

Leaflet Outlines Plans To Discredit Civic Forum

AU1212162489 Prague LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE in Czech 4 Dec 89 p 4

["(BAR)"-signed report: "Democracy Calls For Help"]

[Text] The abolition of communist monopoly opens the way for natural competition between more political parties on the basis of parliamentary democracy, thus, a direct and honest exchange of views which will enhance and improve the identity of the republic in the heart of Europe is awaited. However, how can we explain the existence of written material that has recently found its way into the hands of Prague's students? This material is called Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] Practices For the Struggle With Civic Forum (extract from CPCZ Central Committee instructions—from an audio recording).

The person who brought this material to the universities is unknown; there may be various reasons for his anonymity. This could be a provocation. However, the material's contents are so serious and foreboding that in the interest of uncovering the reasons for and the integrity of this information, we are now publishing this material—despite the fact that the source has so far not been confirmed. If these are indeed genuine communist instructions, then, such "practices" could, without a doubt, extensively threaten the incipient democratic process in Czechoslovakia.

CPCZ Practices for the Struggle With Civic Forum

It is necessary to reconcile ourselves to the fact that the CPCZ will not have its leading role guaranteed in the Constitution. However, it is necessary to slow down further changes to the Constitution and its associated legal regulations. It is necessary not to introduce any practical changes prior to approving changes to procedural edicts (for example, in the nomenclatura and cadre work system, in the issue of the People's Militia, in the distribution of responsibility and authority, and so on).

It is necessary to claim that we have learned from our mistakes and that the leadership was to blame for everything. It is necessary to point out that the leadership did not even satisfy rank and file communists.

The Action Program for the congress on 26 January 1990 will extensively overlap with Civic Forum's [OF] program. It is necessary to point this out and, thus, the OF's insignificance.

It is necessary to conduct a dialogue with OBRODA, which is an OF element. As many CPCZ members as possible must work inside OBRODA (that is, at the same time in OF) although we will not agree with some of their demands.

It is necessary not to allow the further expansion of OF in towns and villages. It is necessary to insist upon the still valid regulations and edicts which may prevent OF's propagation. It is necessary not to provide under favorable terms large areas for assembly or resources for the propagation of information.

It is necessary to split students from OF (pointing out that they were only being used, that OF does not represent their interests, and so on). It is necessary to make use of the Socialist Youth Union [SSM] for this (by claiming that in several points OF has a program incompatible with SSM interests, if appropriate, that the SSM is being pushed onto the margin of events).

It is necessary to develop an economic program solely on the basis of socialism. It is necessary to refer to the danger of the restoration of capitalism (the loss of social advantages, private ownership of manufacturing resources, and the exploitation, unemployment, and so on resulting from this).

Television and radio should remain subservient to the government. OF will be given a maximum of two hours a week broadcasting time. Programs will be divided into national and regional ones. It is necessary not to provide further resources for the publication of OF periodicals.

It is necessary to separate other National Front elements from OF. It is particularly necessary to indicate to the Czechoslovak Socialist Party and to the Czechoslovak

People's Party that they have their own programs and that OF does not represent them. It is necessary to evoke the lack of unity between OF and a fundamental number of left wing associations and clubs (for example, the Democratic Forum of Communists).

It is necessary to point out that OF stands for demagogy and that it manipulates people (for example, at mass demonstrations, by attacking OF's information as groundless, by making use of atheistic sentiments, and so on). It is necessary to seek ways of personally discrediting both people from the central OF and local activists (for example, by referring to their work performance, their disorganized family life, their religious life, and so on).

It is necessary to promote reliable CPCZ members onto OF strike committees and committees. It is necessary to evoke an atmosphere of the CPCZ's cooperation with OF (for example, by offering them premises). However, it is necessary not to allow them access to the mass information media or to duplication technology. It is necessary to divide OF and the strike committees. It is necessary to include the strike committees in the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement structure and implement its articles in them.

The LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE editorial board is not publishing this information in order to stir up society's awareness. First and foremost, we are concerned with clarifying the sources and purposes of such information.

Party Denies Document

AU1912100389 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 8 Dec 89 p 5

[Nada Adamickova and Igor Sirota article: "Real and Imaginary CPCZ 'Practices'"]

[Text] Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] Practices for the Struggle Against the Civic Forum -a leaflet which came like a bolt from the blue. The fact that its author is anonymous did not prevent many people, as well as the mass media, from spreading its contents. What, then, are the communist party's real tactics?

Let us, first of all, turn to Josef Hora, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium spokesman: I am able to announce that neither the Central Committee nor, most certainly, the new party leadership issued such instructions. These are extracts taken from speeches made by various party representatives; the miscellaneous points of view do not represent current CPCZ policy, but are at variance with it. I am not discounting the fact that similar opinions could be expressed. However, it would not be sensible to pass them off as CPCZ practices. Spurious propaganda documents contradict the principles of political culture while their purpose is to cast aspersions on the new party leadership's sincerity and honor.

As far as the CPCZ's real policy is concerned, the matter is as follows: The CPCZ Central Committee Presidium indeed approved a document on 30 November. Of course, it has a completely different name and, first and foremost, contents. It is called: The Organization and Tactics of the Party's Policy in Enterprises, Factories, and Collectives.

What does this document say? For instance, that the party is not interested in dissolving the primary organizations and the membership base and that it should protect its property. It is also necessary not to break up the People's Militia's unity. Their position will be resolved speedily. Let us add here that it has already been resolved -in the draft CPCZ Action Program published on 2 December. On the issue of the People's Militia, it states the following: "We propose that the People's Militia, which has served and is serving the people's interests, be subject to government control."

However, let us return to The Organization and Tactics of the Party's Policy in Enterprises, Factories, and Collectives. It has 11 points. For example, in the fourth point it states: The fulfillment of economic tasks is demanded from Communist managers at all levels. The fifth point, in turn, expects that Communists will, immediately and without prejudice, initiate and actively conduct a dialogue with all those who are willing to participate in it. The sixth point issues a further instruction -to support the development of democracy; to prevent anarchy and increased pressure on economic employees by means of unrealistic demands whose fulfillment would lead to the break up of intra-enterprise management; and to proceed against the disparagement of individuals and the discrediting of party members' honest work.

Even the other points do not mention any struggle against the Civic Forum. For example, it recommends adopting a differentiated approach toward the strike committees and other civic initiative groups.Similarly, in the countryside, the document contains the party's approach toward resolving local problems such as supplies, services, transportation, ecology, and so on with initiative. When the word initiative is mentioned here, then this word is targeted at Communists in agricultural enterprises and national committees.

Let us emphasize another point: The Communist Party has to endeavor to influence the political situation in National Front social organizations. Of course, in no case will this be from the position of a leading role, but from the position of an equal partnership.

Another comment—we did not mention all 11 points of the document. Let us make it plain that this was absolutely intentional. For example, the final point, which talks about the necessity of using experienced teachers and propagandists in mass political work, is, it seems, dominant at this time. Today's situation demands a far more flexible approach, an approach outlined in the Action Program.

Thus, in conclusion. The party leadership has not adopted any practices for a struggle against the Civic

Forum. Even the document on the party's policy in enterprises, factories, and collectives adopted on 30 November contains nothing of the kind. On the contrary, it proceeds from a fundamental turnaround in CPCZ policy. The party is decisively and definitively parting from the old concept of one party's leading role and from depending on a monopoly of power and ideology. It has expressed its support for humanistic and democratic socialism. It is embarking upon a road of dialogue with other political forces and movements. These are, then,—if you like—the real CPCZ practices.

Calls for Bilak's Removal Continue

CPSL Members Call for Explusion

AU1312154289 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 9 Dec 89 pp 1,2

[Unattributed report: "Action Committee of the Communist Party of Slovakia Convened]

[Text] Bratislava—The Action Committee of the Communist Party of Slovakia [CPSL] convened in Bratislava yesterday [8 December] with Comrade Pavol Bolvansky in the chair. The committee discussed an appeal to the delegates to district and city district conferences, as well as the proclamation "A Word to the Communists." The committee adopted the following resolution:

The Action Committee of the CPSL: Considers the document "Lessons From the Critical Development in the Party and Society After the 13th Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia" to be invalid; it therefore disbands the commission set up to assess and study this document, which was approved by the CPSL Central Committee Presidium on 4 December 1989.

It requests the Central Control and Auditing Commission of the CPSL, and also other control and auditing commissions, to speedily set up commissions to study violations of authority and cases of personal enrichment and corruption on the part of leading party officials during their terms of office in party, state, and economic functions at all levels. According to the results of these investigations, they should propose appropriate party conclusions and further action, in keeping with the legal norms; this should also be done in cases where punitive action taken to date has proved inadequate.

It proposes that the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] immediately suspend Vasil Bilak's membership of the CPCZ, and that it speedily initiate disciplinary action against him for his gross abuse of authority in the period when he held top party offices. Following the adoption of the principle of political pluralism in our society, it holds the view that the issue of the existence and operation of political parties and civic initiatives in workplaces must be resolved in the immediate future, via negotiations between the top-level representatives of the Communist Party and other political parties and civic initiatives. Until such an agreenment is reached, the CPSL's plant organizations will remain in the plants, enterprises, and institutions; however, they will not interfere in the economic activities of these organizations, nor will they carry out their own activities during working hours. In future, it expects the individual political parties and movements to conduct their activities outside the workplaces.

In the period up to the amendment of all documents adopted by the top state bodies in connection with the restructuring of the economic mechanism, documents that anchor both the party's leading role and the understanding of party organizations as the core of working collectives, it recommends the implementation of the exclusive founders' right to nominate the directors of plants, enterprises, and institutions.

As to the People's Militia, it recommends that the CPCZ Central Committee appraise the current situation and determine its future fate, in cooperation with the appropriate authorities and legislative bodies.

In view of the party's current complicated situation, it appeals to all party members and candidate members to decide on their own how much to pay in membership dues for November. The issue of membership dues will be definitely resolved by the extraordinary CPCZ congress.

It states that it is in favor of the operation of several platforms inside the party with the aim of shaping it into a left-wing party, even if this should involve the participation of the new democratic groupings which are being formed from among party members and those who have had to leave our ranks, contrary to justice.

In connection with the evaluation of the role played by the party press, it adopted certain organizational measures with regard to the activities of the weekly NOVE SLOVO. The basic mission of the weekly's editorial office is to rally the intelligentsia with a socialist orientation, to create adequate scope for an exchange of views by the various ideological streams, and to serve as a platform for the dialogue about paths toward building a socially just, pluralist society. It expressed the conviction that the independent, responsible journalistic activities of the weekly NOVWE SLOVO would contribute toward partnership-like cooperation among all democratically oriented social and political forces.

It supports the efforts to work out a new Constitution of the CSSR and also of the Czech and Slovak Socialist Republics. Proceeding from the principle of the sovereignty and equal rights of the Czech and Slovak peoples and their right to self-determination, up to separation, the CPSL will strive to resolve the issue of the constitutional status of the Czech and Slovak Socialist Republics so that it would consolidate Czechoslovak statehood, the relations between our nations and nationalities, and Czechoslovakia's status in the world. It considers it imperative to start intensively preparing the Constitution of the Slovak Socialist Republic. The CPSL will strive to make it express the sovereign will of Slovakia's

citizens. In this context, it will also strive to push through the demand that the Constitution anchor the national symbols.

It adopted an appeal to the delegates to district and city district conferences and the proclamation "A Word to the Communists."

Accused of Personal Gain

AU1412153889

[Editorial Report] Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 12 December on page 3 carries a 2,000-word article by Peter Ondera entitled "After a Long Silence; A Few Facts About the Villa of Vasil Bilak, Doctor of Social Sciences." The article gives an account of the "remarkable transaction," through which Vasil Bilak, former secretary and member of the Presidium of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Central Committee, and his daughter Nada, the wife of Communist Party of Slovakia Central Committee department head Jozef Sevc, acquired a villa at No. 8 Timravina Street "in the luxurious quarter of Bratislava."

According to Ondera's account, the early 20th century villa—which consists of 513 square meters of built-up space and 1,337 square meters of garden area—originally belonged to Pavol Oplustil, general secretary of Hlinka's "clerico-fascist Ludakist party." In 1977, Oplustil's widow was forced to sell the villa "to the state" for what Ondera describes as a "ridiculous sum," on the grounds that the villa would serve "consular and state purposes." Even prior to the official sale, in 1973, "various functionaries and national committee workers" managed to "convince" the villa's occupants, the Stefanik family, to move out. Between 1974 and 1978, the villa underwent a "general reconstruction" at a cost of Kcs1,807,916. An additional Kcs91,433 was spent on furnishing the villa. According to Ondera, although the reconstruction was financed from a "special fund" as a "state villa," even in 1974 it was clear who would occupy it because all invoices bore Vasil Bilak's name. On 19 January 1979, finally, Vasil Bilak and his wife and Jozef Sevc, Bilak's son-in-law, and Nada Sevcova purchased the villa, which had in the meantime been subdivided into two separate apartments. Under the purchase contract, they paid Kcs250,966 for the first apartment and Kcs86,745 for the second apartment, that is, as Ondera points out, Kcs1,460,205 less than the cost of reconstruction alone.

In conclusion, Ondera appeals to the newly set up group of the Communist Party of Slovakia Central Control and Auditing Commission, which is to investigate instances of power abuse by leading officials, to examine how the difference between the cost of reconstruction and the purchase price came about, "not only in this case, but also in other cases of 'sales' of apartments into personal ownership, especially in Bratislava." Ondera expresses the readiness of the PRAVDA editorial office to make available to the group of investigators all of the facts and information at its disposal. He also contends that the "direct low-level executors of this and other similar actions do not bear direct responsibility" for them and expresses the hope that the group of investigators will be able to assess the degree of individual guilt.

In a "post scriptum" Ondera refutes the "widespread rumor" that Jozef Sevc is building another house on the No. 8 Timravina Street plot. He notes that a building permit had been requested by Vasil Bilak's son Dimitrij but that, in the end, the permit was awarded to a certain Tomas Masika and Doctor Marian Riegel, his son-in-law.

House Purchase To Be Checked

AU1412154289 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 13 Dec 89 p 4

[CTK report: "Villa Purchase To Be Verified"]

[Text] Bratislava— The prosecutor general of the Slovak Socialist Republic has decided to verify data concerning the purchase of a villa by Vasil Bilak, doctor of social sciences, in Bratislava, on the basis of data published in the article "After a Long Silence" in PRAVDA on 12 December. The public will be informed about the outcome of the inquiry.

Bilak Resigns Legislative Post

LD1912121589 Prague Domestic Service in slovak 1100 GMT 19 Dec 89

[Text] The Communist Party of Slovakia District Committee in Presov has received a reply to the letter in which it notified Vasil Bilak, deputy of the Federal Assembly Chamber of People, elected for the town of Presov, that he had lost the confidence of an overwhelming number of the inhabitants of the town and district. In his reply, Vasil Bilak said he has resigned his parliamentary mandate in the supreme representative and legislative body.

Special Units No Longer Safeguard Public Order

AU1112134889 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 9 Dec 89 p 4

[Interview with Major General LLD Josef Sabata, chief of the administration of the CSSR Interior Ministry's troops, by Karel Walter; date and place not given: "Mainly Against Terrorism; Special Unit Will Not Be Deployed to Safeguard Public Order"]

[Excerpts] [Walter] In connection with the events in Prague on 17 November there has been talk about the deployment of the Interior Ministry's special assignement unit. Can you tell what units are involved?

[Sabata] The Special Assignment Department (OZU) is a special unit of the National Security Corps, subordinated to the Administration of the Interior Ministry's Troops. Its essential mission is to combat extraordinary and special forms of criminal activity, and it is also preparing to fulfill tasks during exceptional occurences in the

national economy. It was founded on the basis of the experience of security corps not only in the socialist countries, but also on the basis of the knowledge gained from the buildup of antiterror units in the capitalist states.

The visit by Austria's minister of interior in 1988, who watched all types of the OZU's training, affirmed that the training takes place in line with the objectives of all special units in Europe. [passage omitted]

[Walter] Has the unit been in action against perpetrators of criminal activities of late?

[Sabata] In enforcing security, the members of the OZU have always been deployed against particularly dangerous criminals. Their deployment during the incident in Trstin, when an armed perpetrator held a soldier and a female student hostage, is well-known. [passage omitted]

[Walter] What is the case with the deployment of members of that unit during actions to safeguard public order?

[Sabata] Effective immediately, the CSSR Minister of Interior has decided that OZU members must no longer be deployed in actions connected with safeguarding public order.

[Walter] I thank you for the interview.

Cisar Interviewed on Political Situation

LD1412144989 Prague CTK in English 0958 GMT 14 Dec 89

[Text] Prague Dec 14 (CTK)—The defeat of the revival process in Czechoslovakia in 1968 and the renewals of the regime of dictatorial practics influenced further development not only in Czechoslovakia but in all central and Eastern European countries.

This point was stressed by former Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee member and one of the representatives of the club for socialist reconstruction Obroda (Revival) Cestmir Cisar in an interview for the Czechoslovak weekly for literature, politics, culture and art TVORBA.

Cestmir Cisar pointed out that the Czechoslovak Communist Party leadership ignored the maturing of ideas and the social movement both in the East and in the West. It turned a blind eye to the dynamic process of the scientific-technological and spiritual-cultural revolution. With an absurd stubbornness it pursued a conservative political line and changed Czechoslovakia into a backward state and decaying society, Cestimir Cisar said.

He emphasized that politics is a highly intellectual human activity which cannot bear dilettantism, illiteracy and incompetence. "Our republic passed through already enough phases of development to be able to evaluate various political tendencies. Movements and programs as regards their quality and successfulness". Cestmir Cisar said. Adding in this connection that he belongs to the generation which has practically gone through all of the 70 years of the Czechoslovak state.

"We remember highly talented and competent politicians as well as limited and even primitive politicians but also consequences of these qualities, good and catastrophic. that is why the installing of politicians of top qualities corresponding to the European level, who will honourbaly represent the country and not bring on it is so loudly called for today," Cisar said.

Dubcek Interview by Soviet Weekly Reported

LD0712155389 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1500 GMT 7 Dec 89

[Text] The latest issue of MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI weekly has published an article by the former first secretary of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Central Committee, Alexander Dubcek. Our former highest communist representative said that, despite changes in the Presidium, the Central Committee of the party was well as local party committees are continuing to work in the old spirit. He stressed that the Communist Party will have to be more open to the new phenomena which are manifested in the ranks of West European socialists. In conclusion of the article Alexander Dubcek voices the conviction that the party will find a new path in time.

Civic Forum Makes Statements, Takes Stands

On Crime Prevention

LD1812223189 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1830 GMT 18 Dec 89

[Text] Here is a fresh statement of the Civic Forum Coordination Center: In the past few days, criminality has increased on the entire territory of Czechoslovakia. We must all prevent that. Thus, we turn with an urgent appeal to all citizens with the following request:

Cooperate with all the honest protectors of the law. At the same time we turn, on behalf of the citizens, to the members of public security and other senior officials of the Ministry of the Interior to fulfill their duties and with resoluteness to protect citizens from criminality. It will be the best evidence of their relationship to the people, democracy, and freedom. We resolutely condemn any unjustified scandalization of public security and crime police. We are prepared publicly to pillory any scandalization of the members of the public security. We appeal to citizens and members of public security to turn in such cases to representatives of the Civic Forum.

Appeals Against Assembly Boycott

LD1812215489 Prague Television Service in Czech 1830 GMT 18 Dec 89

[Excerpts] Mr Petr Pithart from the Civic Forum came to our studio a short while ago to speak prior to tomorrow's session of Parliament.

[Begin Pithart recording] What I will read now is something like a message.

Messrs Deputies of the Federal Assembly, citizens who elected deputies. Tomorrows Federal Assembly Presidium plenary meeting will hear a program statement of the Federal Assembly, discuss changes in the constitutional law on extending the deadline for electing the president of the Republic, and probably, also the changes in the law on the unified order of the Federal Assembly—a change in the way of voting when electing a president.

However, we found out a while ago that some deputies are considering whether or not they should attend the session at all. We do not know what leads them to this attitude. We can only surmise. We do not want to believe that the motive of such a decision is an attempt to sabotage the activity of the highest organ of state power and thus to create a serious constitutional crisis which would inevitably arise if two-fifths of the elected deputies did not take part. What is more probable is the fear of unfavorable [words indistinct] atmosphere in the nearest vicinity of the National Assembly and thus also in the session hall.

Regarding this we want to say that even today, in the morning hours, the students who will come to Prague from all over the Republic, have decided to welcome the deputies with bread and salt or flowers and thus symbolically shake hands with them to mark national understanding. They will not demonstrate near the Federal Assembly building. [passage omitted]

The Civic Forum has spoken several times against condemning representative corps as a whole, against unfair campaigns which do not distinguish between deputies connected with the worst aspects of the previous system from the deputies who can look their voters in the eye. I am turning particularly to these deputies, who were faithful to their electors even during hard times. Please, attend tomorrow's ordinary meeting of the Federal Assembly, support the proposal on the new agenda. This is an opportunity for each deputy to demonstrate his place and his attitude toward the events of the current days and weeks. Help to prevent a constitutional crisis which would not be good for anything. Help to create a situation which will enable you to elect a president of the Republic and will make it possible for all of us to proceed with peaceful preparation for free elections. You and we will guard jointly the opportunity which has been awaited by two generations of our citizens. And the last appeal: If Messrs deputies did not hear our message, I pray all of you, tell them. Thank you. [end recording]

Calls for School Changes

LD1712222489 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 2100 GMT 17 Dec 89

[Text] Participants in a meeting of representatives of Civic Forum in Prague's schools and educational establishments have issued a statement calling for an immediate change in those sections of the Education Act and other regulations which run counter to the Czechoslovak Constitution and accepted international agreements. They call for an end to the influence of political parties in schools, and for teachers unjustly penalized for ideological reasons to be able to return to their profession.

They also call for the demilitarization of educational establishments, the recruitment of pupils to military schools to be abolished, and defense-oriented courses and exercises to be discontinued.

In teaching, all world languages should be treated as having equal status. Religion should be allowed to be taught to children according to parental wishes.

Wants Old Emblem Back

AU1812161589 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 13 Dec 89 p 2

["ru"-signed report: "Civic Forum Holds News Conference; Objective: Political Pluralism"]

[Excerpts] Prague—"In view of the fact that the political situation is constantly and complexly changing, the programmatic objectives of Civic Forum [OF] must also change to a certain degree. However, there are no rules as to how it must react to a newly arisen situation," Lubos Dobrovsky, OF press spokesman, said in the opening part of the OF news conference yesterday [12 December]. In this connection, he read the OF's standpoint of principle, which was adopted on Monday evening [11 December]. [passage omitted]

Further, Lubos Dobrovsky informed journalists that the OF and the Public Against Violence support the proposal that the Czechoslovak state emblem of 1920 be reintroduced [aby mal podobu z roku 1920], and voiced support for the strike of the university students, which still continues. He also spoke about the finances of the OF (at the moment Kcs372,000 and DM1,640), and stressed that they do not ask for subsidies from the state in order to maintain their independence.

Most questions then concerned the election of the president, his nationality, and political affiliation. In a roundtable discussion, the OF proposed a Czech without political affiliation while maintaining parity. There were no objections. The news conference also was attended by students from Plzen who brought materials, fire-damaged remnants, which allegedly they discovered near Plzen recently. In their opinion, these are fragments of National Security Corps documents, which they want to submit for experts to study.

Prague Spring Soldiers Hold Meeting

LD1712204589 Prague CTK in English 1740 GMT 17 Dec 89

[Text] Prague, Dec 17 (CTK)—The first national meeting of professional soldiers and civilians employed in the military administration, who were released from the army for their part in the Prague Spring Reform Movement and disagreed with the August 1968 invasion, took place here today.

A total of 4,857 officers, 955 non-commissioned officers and an unknown number of civilians were affected.

The meeting, called by the military-political section of the Revival Club, a part of the Civic Forum initiative, was attended by Defence Minister Colonel-General Miroslav Vacek in whom the participants expressed full confidence. They expressed their stands on the August 1968 invasion and on the army's position in the present revolutionary changes in society.

Oloumec Students Remove Communist Decorations

LD1212110189 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 2030 GMT 11 Dec 89

[Text] Several hundreds of young people, mostly students from Palacky University who are on strike, gathered early tonight with candles and Chinese lanterns in front of the supermarket in Svornost Avenue in Olomouc. As they sang they removed at first the so-called building socialism banner and then a big star, hammer and sickle, which were placed in front of the supermarket. Then they marched through the town.

In this way they began to fulfil their decision made at this morning's rally to clear the town this week of decorations placed there especially during the last two decades.

Spokesman Denies Army Coup Planned 'Tomorrow'

LD1812194889 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 18 Dec 89

["Topical report" by Colonel Stanislav Pohoral, spokesman for the Ministry of National Defense—live or recorded]

[Text] Early this morning a group of soldiers on basic military service in a unit in Lesany contacted Czechoslovak Radio asking it to publish their statement to the effect that they have begun a protest hunger strike. The main reason for this act was to draw public attention to the differing view of soldiers on basic military service on the question of the date on which the reduction of basic military service to 18 months comes into effect. They are thus responding to the press conference given by the Czechoslovak minister of national defense on 15 December 1989, at which Colonel General Vacek reported that he is proposing to introduce a measure under which basic military service will be reduced to 18 months from 2 January 1990.

Unfortunately, the minister of national defense's words were interpreted inaccurately by certain media, giving the impression that everything had already been decided by the Federal Assembly, which is the sole body with the right to adopt that change in the form of a legal norm. This is not yet the case. Therefore it is unreasonable to use various protest actions in other military units too to try to force a decision by the Ministry of National Defense on backdating the validity of this legal amendment in respect of the duration of basic military service. Such decisions are beyond the jurisdiction of the Federal Ministry of National Defense.

This fact, in any case, has also been recognized by the soldiers in Lesany. After the whole matter was explained to them by senior officials of the Czechoslovak People's Army, they discontinued their strike.

I would also like to draw the attention of our public to the fact that various alarming leaflets are circulating, especailly in Brno, saying that a military coup has allegedly been planned for tomorrow.

I declare with full responsibility that this completely irresponsible leaflet-spreading campaign is aimed at provoking panic and fear among the civilian population, and at generating malice against the Czechoslovak People's Army.

The Army Command sharply dissociates itself from such campaigns, and rejects this claim.

The minister of national defense personally contacted Michal Kocab, a music composer and Civic Forum representative, this morning and conveyed this stance to him.

I wish to add that the Czechoslovak People's Army supports the renewal and democratization process in our Republic.

Putsch Plans Denied

LD1912094889 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0700 GMT 19 Dec 89

["Topical report" by Sergeant-Cadet Zeman, servicemen's spokesman—recorded]

[Text] This is Sergeant-Cadet Zeman to give you information about the state of affairs in the Lesany garrison where a hunger strike started yesterday morning [18 December].

We have resolved to make this statement after an incomplete report was broadcast about the situation in our Lesany garrison. It was made public in a radio broadcast on 18 December. The basic demand of those on the hunger strike is as follows:

The reduction of national military service to 18 months for ordinary national servicemen and to 9 months for

graduates of military chairs of institutions of higher learning. These changes must also affect soldiers who are currently doing their military service.

After the hunger strike started, Major General (?Rour), the minister of national defense's envoy, came to the garrison and after discussion gave us the following guarantees:

The publication of our demand and its conveyance to the minister of national defense. The minister of national defense will make a public stand on it and convey it to the federal government and Federal Assembly. It has been guaranteed that all those who participated in the hunger strike or who organized it will not be punished.

In the early hours of 19 Dec we were informed in a personal conversation with Maj Gen (?Rour) and Colonel Pohoral, the Ministry of National defense press spokesman, that the minister of national defense has conveyed our demands to the prime minister.

In closing, we would like to say a few words about the problems of the putsch that has been talked about. We can state that there has been no such indications in our garrison and that all soldiers are firmly behind the present government of national accord.

Commission Findings on 17 Nov Events Reported

LD1412205489 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 14 Dec 89

[Excerpts] A news conference was given at the Federal Assembly building in Prague by members of the Parliamentary commission for the supervision of the investigation on the intervention by order enforcement forces on the 17 November. The entire news conference was broadcast live. Vaclav Klement prepared a short summary for our news bulletin. [passage omitted]

[Begin Klement recording] The main findings show that the intervention against students was planned and organized in advance. Miroslav Stepan, leading secretary of the city party organization in Prague, personally intervened at the Narodni Trida and gave instructions that the intervention was to be carried out by all available means.

The Parliamentary commission also informed us that criminal proceedings had begun against six persons, three of whom are in custody. [passage omitted]

Student (Uzeny), member of the commission, announced at the press conference that the number of registered cases of those wounded had reached 143 according to the latest data. Dr Bojar, head of the hospital in Motol [in Prague], gave this number in a phone call during the press conference. [passage omitted]

Chairman of the commission, Deputy Stank, spoke by phone with former Interior Minister Kincl, who is ill. Kincl told Stank that if he had not received an order to intervene, then the intervention would not have taken place. He promised to confirm it in a letter. Therefore, it is quite possible that Milos Jakes will again be summoned to appear in front of the Parliamentary commission on Monday. [end recording]

Jakes Testifies to 17 Nov Commission

LD1812190189 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1600 GMT 18 Dec 89

[Text] Lubomir Fanta, the press spokesman for the parliamentary commission monitoring the enquiry into the events of 17 November in Prague, has reported on the commission's session held today. The commission discussed a letter from the former Interior Minister Frantisek Kincl, in which he writes that if he had received the clear instructions which Milos Jakes has stated, the massacre would never have taken place.

This morning Milos Jakes gave further testimony before the commission, but he merely repeated what he has said before.

Alojz Lorenc, federal first deputy minister of the interior, then gave specific details about the intervention on Narodni Trida. The commission members' views on political responsibility were, for the most part, confirmed.

Urbanek Urged To Inquire Into 'Putsch Attempt'

AU1812130689 Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech 7 Dec 89 p 1

[Letter from Communist Party of Czechoslovakia members on the editorial staff of MLADA FRONTA to Karel Urbanek, general secretary of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Central Committee; date and place not given]

[Text] Esteemed Comrade General Secretary,

We are dissatisfied with the present domestic political situation and with the activity of some Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] bodies, which have their share in the escalating tension in society. We are appealing to you with the request that the CPCZ Central Committee investigate the action of former CPCZ leading functionaries which led to the summons of People's Militia units to Prague in the night from 21 to 22 November 1989. We regard this decision as an attempt at an armed putsch and an action jeopardizing the foundations of our state. According to information that we have, the People's Militia and other armed units were ready, in the early morning of 22 November, to liquidate by force the student strike committees and the movement of the public. This would have had unfathomable consequences for our homeland. Because our voice is far from the only one demanding that this matter be cleared up, we must insist on a thorough investigation and on the publication of its result. At the same time we demand that guarantees be provided preventing a recurrence of anything similar at any time in the future.

[signed] Communists from the daily MLADA FRONTA.

Post-1968 Expellees Rehabilitated

LD1412102589 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1730 GMT 13 Dec 89

[Text] The Presidium of the Central Committee of the Slovak Journalists' Union rehabilitated all journalists who were expelled from the Union after 1968 for political reasons. It also announced that the gala presentation of journalists' cards to all rehabilitated journalists will take place in the study center of the Union at Modra-Harmonia on 20 December this year.

Scientists Working Abroad Asked To Return

AU1412151489 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 12 Dec 89 p 1

[CTK report: "To Czechoslovak Scientists Abroad"]

[Text) Prague—The Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences yesterday [11 December] issued a proclamation addressed to Czechoslovak scientists residing abroad, signed by Academician Miroslav Katetov and Academician Josef Riman. It states: During the current days, when our nations are being offered a historic opportunity for truly free advancement, we appeal to all Czechoslovak scientists who have, for various reasons, gone to work abroad in the past. Esteemed colleagues, we want to ask you, above all, to weigh the possibility of helping Czechoslovak science today to become once again, and as speedily as possible, a worthy partner of world science. During the years of your activities at scientific workplaces outside the CSSR, you all have acquired great experience and knowledge. We will be most grateful to you for making them available to the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences and to your fatherland. To all those who have been victimized for civic involvement and for leaving the republic, we will grant protection and the necessary legal aid. We will meet each and every one of you halfway in your justified demands for civic, but also scientific, rehabilitation in Czechoslovakia.

* Former Communists Publish Manifesto

90EC0147A Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 1 Dec 89 p 3

[Unattributed article: "Manifesto of the 'Obroda' [Renaissance] Club"; first paragraph is editor's lead-in]

[Text] Under this heading ["Our Documentation"] we publish various contemporary documents. In the middle of the afternoon, the editorial offices were handed the Manifesto of the "Obroda" ["Renaissance"] Club entitled, "Where We Are Headed." Without taking any position on this or that point of view, we are publishing this text in the spirit of this column's, Our Documentation's, tradition, and guided by our experience of the past months, we are doing so in its entirety—in the interest, primarily, of providing our readers with the most comprehensive information. (Ed.)

Esteemed fellow-citizens! At the beginning of this year, the group "Friends of Democratic Socialism," which we had tried to establish in our country in 1968, founded a club called "Obroda." We wanted to incorporate the thinking of the Prague Spring, but also to apply, under our present conditions, the results of the modern, democratic, and humanist thought that is spreading all over Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals today.

Our club came about because our society has come upon a serious crisis. Traditional Czech renaissance currents in the national awakening of democratic public life, and especially of social justice, were suppressed after 1948 by the Stalinist conception of the revolutionary program as a totalitarian, authoritarian system with a single, Communist, party having a monopoly on power. Stalinism's greatest crime was to discredit the century of socialist effort, since people experienced the practice of it as being utterly at variance with it.

For many years, the leadership of the Czechoslovak Communist Party (CZCP) was accepting the practice of intimidation, albeit somewhat blunted by the atmosphere of popular democratism, for its own. In doing so it betrayed the trust that the working people had placed in that party in the course of their revolutionary struggles, in good faith that precisely by building socialism they would get rid of the burden of oppression and exploitation. After the August 1968 invasion, the Husak leadership of the CZCP embarked on a course toward a rigid bureaucratic/directive government of the country to which the entire society was enslaved. The consequences of its conservative policy are well known: the political dictatorship of an oligarchy, economic stagnation with material assets being squandered and nature devastated, cultural decadence, and especially the disintegration of the fundamental criteria of human morality.

It is natural and proper for resistance to such a critical state of affairs to grow in our people. Those who dared criticize and to strive for rectification were publicly vilified, branded as enemies, persecuted, and punished.

The Husak, and then the Jakes leadership of the CZCP, bears full responsibility for the annihilation of the Prague Spring reforms and for the crude, indeed, reactionary manner of wielding authority in the last twenty years. They bear the unpardonable guilt for negating the human side of socialism. This led the entire regime and even the party itself into isolation from the public, and into the deepest crisis in the country's modern history.

The colossal demonstrations of recent days and the appearance of a broad grouping of opposition forces in the Civic Forum, to which our club also belongs, have broken through the bureaucratic barricades of totalitarian power. It is now so thoroughly shaken up that it is realistic to replace it, in an ongoing process, by a genuine power wielded by the people. We will strive together with all democrats to see that that happens soon.

In the open struggle in which the major questions of state politics and social institutions are being decided, opinions, proposals, and programs about what to do next are presently crystallizing. The long-anesthetices capacity for thought and work, capable of solving all the topical political, economic, ecological, social, cultural, and other questions, is awakening. We believe that the current of topics and suggestions, which so strongly characterized the renaissance in 1968, will help us get out of the crisis.

Our club, with its chapters, members, and friends, also wants to contribute to the defining of thoughts and to the discovery of a common platform for all the forces that are prepared to renew the state and to heal society. That is its sole raison d'etre.

We represent a concept of a humane social system characterized by these features:

—the sovereign independence of the Czech and Slovak national republics, unified in a federation;

—democratic self-rule by a free people;

—work liberated from all alienation and privilege;

—equal rights and justice for citizens;

—a package of social security benefits for every class, family, and individual;

—the guarantees of a state ruled by law, with laws that reflect internationally recognized human rights;

—free creative development for education, culture, and art;

—a benign coordination of human activities and the environment, the wellspring of life;

—the development of spiritual and moral values and national traditions;

—the openness of the state and society to the great values of world advancement;

—peaceful international cooperation with all peoples.

With these fundamental issues in our program, we place ourselves among the movements of the European Left, which are developing in political parties of a socialist orientation.

In the near future, we wish to concentrate our efforts on the rapid resolution of the political crisis. We view the following changes and measures as the primary tasks:

—to strengthen organization of the democratic movement throughout the country within the group Civic Forum, to which our club, OBRODA, also belongs and whose democratic principles, entitled "What We Want" we fully endorse;

—to urge the members of the CZCP to undertake a profound internal transformation of their party on the basis of a complete renunciation of all the elements of Stalinism and the adoption of modern concepts of socialism;

—to establish a regulated, market economy represented by nationalized, cooperative, personal, and private enterprises serving the needs of people;

—to abandon the degenerate system of the National Front as the tool of the CZCP's monopoly of power, and to grant full autonomy to every political and interest group;

—to respect the Civic Forum as the foundation for cooperation and dialogue among the groups in the nascent pluralist political party system, for independent activities, and as a place where official representatives and the opposition can meet;

—to create new federal and republic governments as governments of national unity that will be preparing for free elections to representative bodies at all levels;

—to develop, on the soil of the Civic Forum and its components, maximum efforts toward the development of platforms and programs that would find support from broad classes of society;

—to legalize all hitherto unregistered citizens' associations, parties, activities, and clubs, or newly forming social organizations, and to accelerate, in this regard, the enactment of a new law governing assembly and association;

—to accelerate the enactment of a law concerning the communications media, where the new situation in the country must be manifested in a truthful and civilized journalism, freedom of speech, and responsible publicity, critical openness, and full public information;

—to enable all authors of scientific studies, belles lettres, and other works, who were not allowed to be published in the past twenty years, to have their works placed in editorial programs and to get them onto the book market;

—to ensure the Czechoslovak citizens the right to travel freely, to sojourn abroad, and to return home of their own free will, and to resolve humanely the sensitive problem of emigration.

So as to resolve the important questions of democratic restructuring that have been posed, it is necessary to create working teams that will immediately begin work on:

—the true explanation for our evolution since 1945, and especially in 1968 and following years;

—working out principles of a democratic political system and its operation;

—the completion of consistent economic reform and its implementation in various spheres;

—the far reaching reform and modernization of the educational system, academic research, and cultural development;

—the adjusting of the relationship between the state and the church on the basis of their separation, and the achievement of a mutual modus vivendi;

—the establishment of a new understanding of our international relations, founded on an improvement and equalization of their present cooperation in the Warsaw Pact and the Council for Economic Mutual Assistance (CEMA), but also based on the establishment of relations with new countries, ones that are supremely necessary and advantageous to our country.

This is how we imagine the inception and progress of effective, deep-seated restructuring that will be the transition from the old to the new. We want this to take place under conditions of frank discussion, but also under conditions of a high level of action and capability of realization.

The period of the mass meetings had revolutionary significance. We must not now squander so much as a particle of the enthusiasm and determination which, however, now needs a clear program of changes and reforms. The OBRODA Club will fully endorse such a program.

We love our country, we have devoted and hard-working people, we have like-minded friends—those are the important internal and external conditions that give us hope for ultimate success.

Chapters with members and friends of the OBRODA Club are forming in cities and in the country. We are unable to supply them either with the necessary written materials or with any support. To date we have been working without official registration and under poor technical conditions. But that, we hope, will change soon.

Therefore, citizens, get together to debate and reflect, not only on the great questions of Czechoslovak politics, but also on the practical and personal changes in the cities where you live and work.

The slogans about the good of the republic and against its overthrow, formerly so false-sounding and deceptive, are now our slogans, and are assuming their true significance.

Let us think about that and act on it. Truth and honor shall prevail.

Matejka Outlines Next Economic Reform Steps

AU0912184989 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 6 Dec 89 p 8

[CTK report: "Reform Does Not Brook Delay; J. Matejka on the Restructuring of the Economic Mechanism"]

[Text] Prague—At the beginning of next year—that is, less than a month from now—our national economy is to make a transition to new economic conditions. A CTK correspondent asked Deputy Minister Jaromir Matejka, secretary of the CSSR Government Committee for Problems of Planned National Economic Management, for his stand on this issue. He said:

The course of restructuring thus far has been marked by many political counter pressures, compromises, and political barriers. However, we are about to enter a new year and must decide how to continue. I recommend the following course of action: The application of the already prepared measures from 1 January 1990 and, at the same time, the immediate correction of the most serious mistakes that have occurred. If we did not apply even those things that are ready to be introduced, we would have to deprive enterprises of the right to dispose of their foreign exchange earnings; retain the high taxation of enterprises, which in many cases exceeds 90 percent; prevent the further restructuring of state enterprises; refrain from the elimination of subsidies; and would have to continue to specify hundreds of binding indicators that are to be abolished. We would also have to take back the first steps toward the creation of a money market and commercial banks as well as the right of organizations to freely dispose of their resources, to take credits from any bank they want, on the basis of the advantageousness of the terms, and so forth. All this is unacceptable and would mean further loss of valuable time.

However, we have to quickly set right mistakes that have occurred and apply the following planned measures that have not been realized. It is necessary to grant the right of independence to all structural units of state enterprises, that is, to former national or concern enterprises, plants, and so forth, and to break up enterprises with an unwarranted monopoly status. We must abolish the condition, according to which foreign trade activities can only be performed on the basis of a permit from the Federal Ministry of Foreign Trade. We must make use of the CSSR Government's powers and unify the tax burden for all branches and forms of enterprise. We must quickly set right the mistakes in the restructuring of prices carried out so far, while respecting the ratios of prices abroad and not permitting, as a matter of principle, a rise in the overall level of wholesale and procurement prices. We must support by means of state policy the founding of joint enterprises with the participation of foreign capital. We must expeditiously amend regulations governing the so-called small-scale private enterprise. We must activate customs policy in line with our membership in GATT and seek the removal of trade barriers, particularly in relation to the EC and the United States. We must expand the foreign exchange market organized by the Czechoslovak State Bank on the principle of balance between supply and demand and open it also to private persons. In harmony with the restructuring of the economic mechanism and the elections, we must limit the number of territorially-based

agencies, that is, national committees and the like. We must also eliminate all other administrative barriers and instruments in the adopted rules and legal norms which restrict business.

It is necessary to form immediately a strong team of the best Czechoslovak political economists of the young and older generation to work out an overall concept and further specific progress of our reform. The main aim is to harmonize the intentions of a consistent transfer to a full market economy with the requirements of the restructuring of the economy and the restoration of its balance. In doing so, we must strive to prevent inflation and an undesirable impact on the standard of living of our working people.

[CTK] Is there any interest in economists such as Professor Ota Sik, economists who had come with reform ideas in 1968, participating in the work of this team?

[Matejka] I am convinced that there is room in this team for all experts regardless of their political affiliation and stand after 1968 who have always been striving, and strive, for a deep reform of the Czechoslovak economy. This means that next to leading experts from our research and forecasting institutes and economic practitioners, this team could include as expert advisers, besides Ota Sik, also economists such as Vladimir Kadlec, Karel Kouba, Cestmir Kozusnik, Zdislav Sulc, Venek Silhan, and others.

Czech Minister Advocates Market Economy

LD0912152689 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 8 Dec 89

[Text] [Announcer] After the 11th congress of Unified Agricultural Cooperatives, Jan Vodehnal was appointed Czech minister of agriculture and food on 6 December. Vladimir Kolaja has asked him to answer the most topical economic question of today:

[Begin recording] [Kolaja] In your view, do you think that the agricultural sector will go over to a real and genuine market mechanism?

[Vodehnal) In my view, yes. One cannot, however, expect this to happen tomorrow. I have given instructions to select a group of the leading specialists in this area to work out a model for a gradual transition to market economy in the agricultural and food complex.

[Kolaja] This means that the agricultural sector will again be a step ahead of other sectors.

[Vodehnal] We would not want to lose this advantage.

[Kolaja) Perhaps the ideal conditions have already been created in our agricultural sector.

[Vodehnal] They have, naturally more of them are still being created. We have been considering only today such an important question as establishing closer links between agriculture and the food industry and making the distribution network quicker. We attach great importance to this for the development of the agricultural and food complex and, in effect, this should be a factor in the gradual transition to the market economy as we discussed a short while ago. [end recording]

[Announcer] Let us add that Jan Vodehnal, Czech minister of agriculture and food, fully supports the setting up of the Czechoslovak Farmer's Party.

Safarik Elected Czech National Council Chairman

LD1812213389 Prague CTK in English 2110 GMT 18 Dec 89

[Text] Prague, Dec 18 (CTK)—Deputy Jaroslav Safarik (Socialist Party) was elected chairman of the Czech National Council by secret ballot here today with 174 votes in favour and 12 against.

The deputies unanimously recalled Josef Kempny at his own request from the post of the council's chairman.

Jaroslav Safarik stressed in his speech that he, as the council's chairman and a member of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party, will try to work above the line of any party and to provide space for expressing plurality of views.

"I will not make differences between any political party and will not allow that views of anybody, be it a communist or in the nearest future, a supporter of the Civic Forum, be silenced", Jarislav Safarik stressed.

Jaroslav Safarik was born on April 21, 1942. In 1960 he ended studies at the engineering school in Jihlava, South Moravia. From 1963 till 1988 he worked in the Liaz enterprise in Jablonec Nad Nisou, North Moravia. In 1988 he was elected deputy chairman of the National Committee of the town of Jablonec. He has been member of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party since 1965. Being a member of the party Central Committee and chairman of its district committee in Jablonec.

The participants in the meeting discussed the proposal for resignation of ten members of the council's presidium and for relieving four chairmen of the council's committees of their posts. Jaroslav Safarik presented a proposal to recall Miroslava Nemcova from the presidium. All the proposed changes were unanimously accepted.

The participants elected by secret ballot three deputy chairmen of the council, one of the Czechoslovak Communist Party, one without party affiliation and one of the Czechoslovak People's Party.

They elected twelve members of the Presidium, five without party affiliation, two of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party, three of the Czechoslovak People's Party and two of the Czechoslovak Communist Party.

The participants approved the proposal to extend the time for the election of a new president for forty days.

100,000 Gather in Silent Leipzig Protest

LD1812211789 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1813 GMT 18 Dec 89

[Excerpt] Leipzig (ADN)—The center of the city of Leipzig, with its half-million inhabitants, was submerged in a sea of lights this evening. At the traditional and world-famous peaceful demonstration, over 100,000 Leipzig citizens held burning candles in their hands instead of banners. The majority refrained from expressing their demands aloud. Thus they were complying with a joint appeal from Gewandhaus Director Prof Kurt Masur and Superintendent Friedrich Magirius, who had proposed a "silent" conclusion to the 1989 demonstrations in the city. This is to bring to mind, according to the church, "the victims of violence and spiritual oppression in 40 years of Stalinist domination." [passage omitted]

Silent March in Berlin for Victims of Stalinism

LD1812204289 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1927 GMT 18 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Several hundred demonstrators commemorated the victims of Stalinism in a silent march in the center of Berlin on Monday. Carrying candles, the men and women walked past the Red Town Hall to the square in front of the Palace of the Republic.

Amid the ringilng bells of Berlin Cathedral, the demonstration, which was organized by the Berlin "Monday-Demo" citizens' group, dispersed peacefully.

Protests Held in Karl-Marx-Stadt, Schwerin

LD1812204889 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2006 GMT 18 Dec 89

[Text] Karl-Marx-Stadt (ADN)—Around 30,000 people gathered for a silent procession in Karl-Marx-Stadt. For over an hour they marched through the city center. There were isolated cries of "Germany, united fatherland," which later increased in strength. Predominant among the banners, too, were those demanding German unity.

There were also cries of "Without violence—for a new GDR," "Don't give Schoenbhuber and Co. a chance," and "SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany] relinquish power—otherwise goodbye to the GDR." On leaflets of the "SPD [Socialist Democratic Party of Germany] in Chemnitz," there were demands for a Germany within the postwar borders, an ecologically oriented social market economy, and free media.

Schwerin (ADN)—"For a clean environment—before it's too late": This thought united the participants in the traditional Monday demonstration in Schwerin, which was this time devoted specifically to ecological matters. After the rally, a peaceful procession marched to the slaughterhouse of the meat combine, which was described in the demonstration appeal as a "risk to the environment which should not be underestimated."

Tens of Thousands Demonstrate in Leipzig

LD1812181589 Hamburg DPA in German 1736 GMT 18 Dec 89

[Excerpts] Leipzig (DPA)—Several tens of thousands of Leipzigers followed the appeal by opposition groups to remember the victims of Stalinism in the GDR by silently holding candles after prayers of intercession in five Leipzig churches on Monday evening. In the early evening thousands gathered in front of the Nicolai church, which was closed because it was full to overflowing—the starting point of the Leipzig demonstration movement. [passage omitted]

Shortly after 1800, several tens of thousands of Leipzigers formed a complete human chain along the Leipzig Ring Road. There were hardly any placards or Germans flags or slogans about reunification to be seen. There were no aggressive tensions and discussions between advocates of an independent path for the GDR and proponents of an immediate reunification, as on the previous two Mondays.

Dresden Demonstration for Reunification

LD1812200889 Hamburg DPA in German 1912 GMT 18 Dec 89

[Text] Leipzig (DPA)—After the majority of the crowd had dispersed, smaller groups proceeded across Karl Marx Square outside the opera house carrying flags, shouting: "Germany, united fatherland." The German flags were not Federal Republic ones but GDR flags, without the national emblem of hammer and compasses.

In a demonstration involving several tens of thousands of people, Dresden citizens demonstrated overwhelmingly on the eve of the visit by Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl in favor of reunification of the two German states. At the now-traditional Monday evening demonstration, mainly FRG flags were being waved. Some even bore the emblem of the federal eagle. On the fringes people were also distributing the CDU stickers, "We are one people."

Only a few flags with the GDR emblem were to be seen. Nothing more was to be heard at the demonstration of the earlier demands for democracy. Instead, people were carrying banners bearing such slogans as "Socialist shortage economy—no thanks" and "Unity and justice and freedom." The demonstrators chanted: "Germany, one fatherland." Many green and white flags of the province of Saxony were also carried.

GDR Premier Hans Modrow has also arrived in Dresden on the eve of his meeting with Kohl.

Halle Rally Protests Romanian Actions

LD1812203289 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1951 GMT 18 Dec 89

[Text] Halle (ADN)—The last demonstration of the year in Halle had fewer participants than on previous occasions. The demonstration followed a rally organized by the Green Party and the "Democracy Now" group.

Opinions were inflamed, in particular on the question of the path to a united Germany. As often before, speakers of the United Left could not finish expressing their views. They were whistled off by groups of participants.

The rally participants were unanimous in their opposition to the clubbing of peaceful demonstrators in Romania.

Commission for Administrative Reform Created

LD1812184189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1739 GMT 18 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—A GDR government commission for the preparation of the administrative reform has constituted itself in Berlin today. It is headed by the deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers for regional state bodies, Dr Peter Moreth.

The government press and information service reported that representatives of central bodies and local councils and scientists are working together within the commission. In a communication from the commission, reference is made to the close connection between administrative reform and reform of the political system, economic reform, and the shaping of the law-governed state. The administrative reform connects, on a short-term basis, solvable problems to those problems which require a longer period of time to be resolved.

At important stages a broad, public discussion will be conducted. Working groups of the commission are preparing steps for local self- administration and a structure and working method of the state organs which creates requirements for the democratic participation of the citizens in state decisions.

A focal point will be the future territorial organization of the GDR. In this connection, the advisability of the reestablishment of Laender and the structure and number of the administrative districts are also to be examined.

Editorial Calls Roundtable Talks Positive

AU1512121389 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 9-10 Dec 89 p 2

[Uwe Stemmler editorial: "Round Table With Corners and Edges?"]

[Text] On Thursday [7 December] Senior Church Councilor Martin Ziegler said in his welcoming speech in the Berlin Bonhoefer House that, unfortunately, the roundtable has corners, referring to the piece of furniture. He expressed the hope that this will not affect the spirit of the meeting by calling on the participants in the discussion to present the matters clearly and to make concessions as regards the form. If one looks at the results, which were available at the end, 1 hour after midnight, one can assume this admonition was heeded.

The joint proposal for a date of elections to the People's Chamber, a joint proposal to work out a new constitution, two joint statements—to cite just the most important agreements—are available (and can be read in NEUES DEUTSCHLAND of Friday and today). This is certainly more than some people expected.

Of course, it would be interesting to know in which atmosphere such first results were achieved. It is difficult to pass a final judgment because when the actual talks started the journalists were sent out of the room; only representatives of news agencies were permitted to stay. This may have been justified; the ability to work had to be ensured.

However, therefore, one has to limit oneself to the impressions gained in the beginning—and the beginning was rather turbulent instead of full of clarity and concessions. Some reasons for these corners and edges of the table could have been settled during the time of preparation. Because representatives of the trade unions with their millions of members belong into such a round, no matter which party and which denomination they belong to. One cannot discriminate against the colleagues because of some individual corrupt leading members of the Free German Trade Union Federation.

Dark chapters of history have to be assessed scrupulously—this is also the contents of one statement—but for the sake of the people's health one should not make mistakes of the past under the opposite sign. Citizens of our country should never again be excluded because of their political attitude.

The fact that, finally, the majority of the participants in the talks at the roundtable had this conviction and gave the trade union representatives a place there, gives reason to hope.

Roundtable Meets Again in Berlin

Meetings Begin

LD1812102389 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0942 GMT 18 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The second meeting of the participants in the roundtable was opened on Monday morning in the Berlin Dietrich-Bonhoeffer House by the deputy general of the Berlin Bishops Conference, Dr Karl-Heinz Ducke. Present were the representatives of twelve parties, political groupings, and organizations. A

decision on expanding the circle of participants will be made immediately after the opening. Twelve motions have been submitted.

Mr Ducke said positive signals had emerged from the first meeting on 7 December. Thus it seemed 6 May 1990 has been accepted as the date for the next elections. The Office for National Security has been dissolved; the need to give premises to the new groupings was recognized. The legal framework for citizens committees is being fixed.

The roundtable, which met for the first time on 7 December in the Berlin Dietrich-Bonhoeffer House, agreed after several hours of debate to recommend to the GDR People's Chamber 6 May 1990 as the date for the next elections. It was also proposed to work out a new constitution which is to be confirmed after the elections in a referendum.

Two statements were adopted: The roundtable will continue to work until the elections; it sees itself as a component part of public control and demands that the People's Chamber and government involve it in important decisions. The participants also demanded immediate measures from the government for safeguarding the country's interests, i.a. the investigation of abuse of power and corruption.

Representatives of twelve parties and political groupings were invited to the first roundtable by the Secretariat of the Federation of Evangelical Churches and the Secretariat of the Berlin Bishops Conference: the CDU [Christian Democratic Union], the DBD [Democratic Peasant Party of Germany], the LDPD [Liberal Democratic Party of Germany], the NDPD [National Democratic Party of Germany], and the New Forum were present with three representatives each. The Socialist Unity Party of Germany was represented by Dr Gregor Gysi and Dr Wolfgang Berghofer. Two members each of "Democracy Now," "Democratic Awakening," the GDR Green Party, the "Peace and Human Rights Initiative," the Social Democratic Party and the "United Left" represented their organizations.

The trade unions and the Independent Women's Federation, at the decision of the 12, also took an active part in the roundtable; other groups and organizations were given observer status.

4 Groups Join

LD1812122889 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1058 GMT 18 Dec 89

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—The roundtable, which met on Monday morning in the Berlin Dietrich-Bonhoeffer House, decided before the first recess and on the basis of motions submitted, to expand the circle of participants. The FDGB [Free German Trade Union Federation], the Independent Women's Federation, the Green League, the Association of Consumers' Cooperatives, the VdgB [Peasants Mutual Aid Association], and the Treptow People's Solidarity were given observer status.

The participants unanimously endorsed the observer role with mediator function of Dr Klaus Mehnert, head of the Council of Minister's Legal Department, for which the government applied.

In this morning's debate, the participants in the roundtable called for the live transmission of the session by radio and television. This would make the presence of observers superfluous, it was said.

There was a lengthy discussion on the admission of further organizations and associations that were accompanied by choruses of representatives of the FDJ, the DFD and VdgB. Likewise, the demand by the new parties and groupings to send one government representative each to the talks should in the future was disputed. [passage omitted]

On Government Cooperation

LD1812160489 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1501 GMT 18 Dec 89

[Excerpts] Berlin (ADN)—At the second meeting of the roundtable on Monday in the Berlin Dietrich-Bonhoeffer House, the discussion of important technical questions began this afternoon. The participants agreed to a proposal from Dr Wolfgang Berghofer (SED-PDS) [Socialist Unity Party of Germany-Party for Democratic Socialism] to set up a working group which would discuss immediately with Prime Minister Hans Modrow questions relating to future cooperation with the government. A second group will work out proposals for a list of priorities for the further work of the roundtable.

The heated debate about the expansion of the circle of participants, as well as other arrangements, had largely determined the debate before lunch. Representatives from parties and organizations repeatedly called for the speedy creation of technical and specialist committees, as well as a working secretariat in the interest of the increased efficiency of the roundtable work. The body decided to meet once a week after Christmas. However, the participants are to meet again already next Friday to discuss current economic and financial problems of the GDR with Deputy Prime Minister Christa Luft. [passage omitted]

The roundtable accepted information on letters and proposals received. High Consistory Martin Ziegler referred to a series of measures taken by the government at the suggestion of the first roundtable on 7 December. This included the dissolution of the Office of National Security, a resolution on the establishment of an ad hoc investigative committee for the Council of Ministers, and the draft of an order on the activity of citizens' committees.

Kohl Visit Discussed

LD1812162689 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1539 GMT 18 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The participants in the roundtable in the Berlin Dietrich-Bonhoeffer House "welcome the official working visit by Federal Chancellor Kohl to the GDR," says a statement addressed to the goverment heads of the two German states.

The representatives of 16 GDR parties, political groups, and organizations express "the hope that the visit would contribute to the expansion of the relations between the GDR and the FRG, and thus correspond to the responsibility of the two German states for setting up a cross-system peace order in Europe. The community of responsibility for peace, which should be characterized by the active cooperation of the GDR and the FRG for peace and disarmament, should be supplemented by a treaty-based community for the relations. The long-term outlook of the relations can be integrated in the overall European development only in the direction of overcoming the division of Europe.

The visit should mark out the political and economic framework for the further shaping of relations between the GDR and the FRG and should prepare concrete steps that would lead to closer cooperation. This applies above all to issues of cooperation in the areas of industry, science and technology, environmental protection, transport, post and telecommunications, tourism and judicial assistance.

The participants in the roundtable appeal to Prime Minister Modrow and Federal Chancellor Kohl to guide the talks and their results in the direction of cooperation and communication for the benefit of the citizens of their two states. The sovereignty and state identity of each of the two German states must not be put into question by either side.

The governments of the two German states are asked to affirm that they are aware of their responsibility for the stabilty and security in Europe and act accordingly. Today no destabilization for Europe, and thus for the world, must emanate from German soil. We expect clear statements such as how, while abolishing visas and the minimum exchange amount for trips to the GDR, a sell-out of the GDR regarding goods and services and the arrival of neo-Nazis and other right-wing extremists could be prevented."

The roundtable, which came about at the initiative of the Federation of Evangelical Churches and of the Berlin Bishops Conference met for its second meeting on Monday. It believes it is a component part of public control in the GDR and demands that it be included in important decisions by parliament and the government.

Focus on Military Doctrine

LD1812220689 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2053 GMT 18 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Representatives of parties, mass organizations, citizens' movements, and scientific establishments, today discussed starting points for a draft of the future military doctrines of the GDR, at the "Wilhelm Pieck" military policy college in Berlin. Defense Minister Admiral Theodor Hoffmann had convened the first roundtable on this subject. The discussion paper which was the focus of the debate was drawn up by a joint working group, which included experts from the Defense Ministry, the Foreign Ministry, the Institute for International Relations, and the Institute for International Politics and Economics.

Starting from the fact that the national military doctrine represents a significant basis for the necessary military reform in the GDR armed forces, the defense minister put forward a few fundamental positions: The National People's Army [NVA] is firmly committed to its constitutional duty to protect the GDR from external forces. It was trained and structured only for this purpose. The fight for peace and disarmament and the guarantee of an adequate defense capability is seen in the Warsaw Treaty as a stabilizing factor in Europe.

The admiral stressed that the NVA is the army of all the people and not of one particular party. It is open to all social organizations, to all of the people. This applies also to all property and is necessary for fulfilling the constitutional duty. He spoke in favor of dealing with the fundamental problems of military policy and of life in the NVA in the highest people's representative body. At the same time, he demanded that the law on community service be submitted shortly to the government and the People's Chamber. Minister Hoffmann proposed that a consultative council with participants from all social organizations be created.

In the discussion, which became controversial at times, it was asked whether the 1987 Warsaw Treaty doctrine underlying the national military doctrine is still up to date, and whether it is the right time to pass such a document before a new constitution, or how any misuse of the NVA for internal deployment could be ruled out. Speakers in the discussion advocated ideas on a security partnership cooperation between the NVA and the Bundeswehr. There was agreement that the solution of political conflicts is not possible through military means and would jeopardize the existence of the GDR.

Romanian Action Condemned

LD1812181689 Hamburg DPA in German 1711 GMT 18 Dec 89

[Text] East Berlin (DPA)—The participants in the roundtable talks expressed strong criticism on Tuesday [day as received] of the violent action by the Romanian party and state leadership against the people. A unanimously adopted declaration says: "We are in solidarity

with the Romanian people and their struggle for liberation. Therefore, on the basis of our own bitter experiences, we demand that the Romanian party and state leadership no longer rule with brutal violence against its own people and that they not stand in the way of democratic development."

Without expressly mentioning it in the declaration, the members of the roundtable expressed their view that the GDR government should draw the relevant conclusions for their policy towards Romania. Above all, representatives of opposition forces came out in favor of stripping state and party leader Nicolae Ceausescu of awards and orders conferred by the GDR government.

CDU Extraordinary Congress Opens in Berlin

LD1512114489 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1015 GMT 15 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Christian Democratic Party [CDU] Chairman Lothar de Maiziere opened an extraordinary CDU congress in Berlin today. He welcomed some 800 delegates, representing almost 140,000 members, to the 2 days of discussion, under the central idea of "Renewal and the Future."

Even before the congress constituted, Eisenach church assembly member Martin Kirchner demanded, in an agenda application, that, in accordance with the motto of the party congress, the symbols of the "old times"—the party emblem and the flag—should be removed from the hall. There were only 79 votes in favor of this proposal; a majority of about 90 percent voted against.

With the party congress, the CDU is experiencing the first climax and the first true test in the process of "the active political recovery" of the party, Lothar de Maiziere stated in his address. This process has become necessary because the old party leader's were not "in tune with the times."

"We are dealing not only with 6 months of bankruptcy." There is no reason to deny achievements and social gain in this period. The appalling thing, however, according to de Maiziere, is that this could not offset the mismanagement, mistakes and crimes, stagnation, and fossilization of these 40 years.

The so-called democratic centralization has ruined everything—"a political system that wants to replace the earlier free will, initiatives, and human solidarity which it has destroyed with pressure, compulsion and dictatorship." This centralization was "the genetic defect of the GDR and of the pseudo-socialism operating in it," he said. With this defect, the failure and the end of this system had been "pre-programmed in our society and thus in our party too."

The delegates of the extraordinary party congress have before them a written "information document on the activity of the main executive since the 16th CDU Congress," which took place in Dresden in mid-October 1987. The number of members was quoted as 137,196 at the end of November, organized in 15 bezirk [area] associations, 241 kreis [district] and municipal associations, and 6,320 local groups or bases.

The document notes that the party leadership failed to understand how to exploit positive impulses and to resolve to change fossilized structures. "Significant spiritual impulses and tasks—in particular with reference to relations with the churches, the removal of impendiments to church-state relations, and the surmounting of social circumstances which made the urgently needed process of democracy impossible—were not taken on board or were not implemented."

Beginning in the summer of 1989, the deep crisis in the society has led an increasing number of CDU members and executives to reflect critically on the work of the party. "The party's duty to point out the obvious social contradictions and to demand a change in GDR policy was rethought." The authoritarian style of leadership of the party chairman prevented indications of this from the membership from being cited and discussed at meetings.

"While many members consciously joined the people's movement of protest and renewal and at the same time the democratic restructuring of the party was starting from below, the ex-leadership was paralyzed because of a false political evaluation of these events, and was unable, as a result of the stubborn attachment to a party alliance which had become an empty frame, to take on board the demands and ideas of the members and to implement them politically," the information document states. The drafting of a policy paper and the election of the new chairman has given "signs for the new beginning of the party."

Chairman Favors Renewal

LD1512135789 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1122 GMT 15 Dec 89

[Excerpts] Berlin (ADN)—Party Chairman Lothar de Maiziere spoke in favor of a fundamental renewal of the Christian Democratic Union [CDU] as a people's party with a Christian profile when he presented his report at the special party congress which opened today in the GDR capital. [passage omitted]

Only when the CDU admits its share of responsibility for the deformations and the crisis of GDR society can the renewal forces of the party do justice to their task. "We do not want to and we cannot hide from our past," de Maiziere said. For this reason, a change of name for the party is not on the agenda, in his opinion.

It is necessary to clarify the relationship of the CDU to the churches. The decades-long gap between the CDU and the church has increased in the last 2 years. "To the extent to which the churches opened due to the new

social movements, our party became ever more incapable of movement in the sociopolitical dead-end into which it had maneuvered itself by means of its critical distance to the churches."

Referring to the fear that the CDU is on the way to becoming a clerical party, de Maiziere said that the members are close to the churches, but that the CDU does not intend in the future to become a functional organ, an extended political arm of the church organizations.

As a union, the party is uniting different trends. "We will have to learn not only to tolerate different trends and wings in our party, but to engage them in a discussion that is fruitful for the politics of the union." De Maiziere mentioned as an example the problem of the concept of socialism. In his opinion, this word has become an empty shell and thus can no longer be used, he stated to the applause of the delegates. "But it cannot be overlooked that those who reject this concept mean Stalinism, dictatorship, and betrayal, and betrayal of the people, while those among us, for whom this concept is still important today, mean by it the ideals of 150 years of the workers' movement, and the hopes of the poor of this world which are linked with them. Both wings seem to be far apart and are in reality close to each other. They should not exclude each other!"

In the renewal of the CDU, it is important that old and new parties and movements compete and that, at the same time new program foundations and a political strategy for the coming elections be swiftly elaborated.

De Maiziere advocated a CDU as a people's party with a Christian profile. As requirements he cited Christian ideology and Christian value concepts for the developments of the common good. There should also be an examination of what experiences and characteristics of the GDR society should be preserved in the confederative structures of a more united Europe and Germany, until "the unity of the German nation can be implemented, at state level also, with the necessary guarantees of peace for us Germans and for our neighbors."

A further requirement is the image of an independent party, which supported a law-governed state, a European peace order, and solidarity with the developing countries. It must be opposed to all forms of nationalism, fascism and anti-Semitism, and must demand cooperation with people of other humanist convictions, in particular with the Jews.

The society needed a functioning and stable judicial order with openness for the judicial normalization of new problems arising from the reshaping of the state and economic life. In order to protect democracy, the principle of division of power should be implemented. Government, parliament, and judiciary should be brought into a ratio such as would ensure independence and reciprocal control. In the development of the law, the CDU insists on a system of values which places the individual at the focus of all decision

To lengthy applause the speaker called for the restoration of the old GDR provincial stucture and a provincial chamber in the parliament. "We want to promote territorial structures, a consciousness of the homeland, and democratic independence vis-a-vis central organs." In the economy, too, it is important to put an end to all despotism and schematism. The CDU believes that the disastrous situation here can be rectified only with capital from Western countries. This is neither blackmail by Western monopolies nor a sell-out of the GDR, "it is the only logic of the market-economic thinking which we too are resolved to pick up." A leap in the quality of the living standard could, in his view, "be achieved only through far-reaching alignment and integration of the economies of the Federal Republic and the GDR." It is important for the CDU that the desired market economy be an "ecological and social market economy."

De Maiziere appealed to party members to strive for dialogue and cooperation with all democratic forces in society. "This country cannot follow any new false tracks. Dreams and worn ideals must give way to sober reckoning but should also give scope for the justified feelings of national identity. Let us draw up a constitution, on whose basis that which belongs together grows together in ordered fashion. Let us elect, in free elections, a government which is capable of action," the speaker concluded.

Unity 'Died in Auschwitz'

LD1512170189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1557 GMT 15 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—After a controversial debate, the delegates to the Christian Democratic Union [CDU] extraordinary party congress meeting in the GDR's capital this afternoon passed a new party constitution to be valid until the 17th party congress.

Paragraph 1 of the draft presented was drafted anew: According to this the CDU sees itself as a party which supports peace in freedom and justice, a socially linked market economy, and a confederation of the two German states. The term socialism does not occur in the party's understanding of itself.

At the same time the constitution envisions a change from area (bezirk) associations to land associations. Before the acceptance of the election rules, a motion was rejected by a large majority to give a newly elected party executive a mandate only until the next party congress. Then the debate began on the chairman's report, on the information about the activities of the main executive since the 16th party congress, and on the amended second draft of the position paper.

Klaus-Peter Gerhardt, chairman of the Program Commission, explained the changes to this second draft. He said there had been repeated and very controversial arguments on whether the concept of socialism should be

contained in the paper. The majority of written points of view and the commission had rejected the "ruined and discredited" concept.

In the draft there is talk of the unity of the German nation within existing borders and with guarantees for all neighbors. Occasionally the acceptance of the term "reunification" had been expressly recommended to the commission. However, the commission was unable to hold a friendly disposition to this. In their opinion, the Germany which the term reunification means finally and irrevocably died in Auschwitz. A party which accepts the historic guilt of the Germans could not join in the "foolish reunification euphoria."

The text goes on to say that the CDU not only rejects all forms of fascism and anti-Semitism, but also all forms of nationalism.

Executive Member Resigns

LD1512211189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1900 GMT 15 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The resignation of Winfried Wolk, member of the CDU [Christian Democratic Union] Main Executive, caused a stir on the evening of the first day of discussions by the CDU special congress. The 48-year-old painter and designer, a party member for 19 years, in a speech from the rostrum, accused the party congress of failing to come to grips with the past.

In an ensuing interview with journalists in the foyer, he explained his reasons: The country is facing a catastrophe. But instead of shouting, as one should, people here are whispering. The CDU has long been the "SED's cudgel" and had not been a party, he said. This is not only the fault of former party Chairman Gerald Goetting. At present the CDU is running behind developments. Instead of urgent questions of the present, there is talk of seats, sinecures, and self-portrayal.

In response to further questions, he fully agreed with the report by De Maiziere and his economic program. However, he said he believes one man is not enough. Asked about his political future, Winfried Wolk said he could envision taking part in a "more consistent movement," mentioning the Democratic Awakening.

Ex-Chairman's Report

LD1512223689 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2047 GMT 15 Dec 89

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—The interim report by the committee investigating the handling of finances by the former CDU [Christian Democratic Union] chairman noted significant violations of the norms of criminal law by Gerald Goetting. The chairman of the committee, Professor Siegfried Schulze, announced to the CDU extraordinary party congress in Berlin this evening that these violations mostly concern about 1.2 million marks, of which 650,000 marks came from an annual "compensation payment" of 50,000 marks for loss of income from the stopping of payments as president of the People's Chamber. Gerald Goetting ordered this payment to himself by pointing out that this had been laid down by Erich Honecker.

Furthermore, four people had been employed exclusively for the Goetting family in Berlin and Ahrenshoop. Other money had been used for the maintenance of the buildings in Ahrenshoop. Concentration and abuse of power must be prevented in future financial policy.

Asked about the practices in party finances, Lothar de Maiziere announced finding out after taking office that a part of the CDU's budget had been covered from the state budget. The amounts applied for had been paid through "a certain department of the SED Central Committee." After a heated debate it was decided to continue the party congress in closed session. [Passage omitted]

1st Day Ends

LD1512224589 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2120 GMT 15 Dec 89

[Excerpts] Berlin (ADN)—The CDU [Christian Democratic Union] extraordinary party congress taking place in Berlin concluded its first round of debates late this evening with further contributions to the debate on the report and the position paper. The meeting will be continued tomorrow morning [16 December]. [passage omitted]

In a statement to the press on the closed session, which lasted half an hour, it was announced that the journalists had missed nothing; the delegates had merely "wasted their time on unnecessary debate."

Congress Continues

LD1612090889 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0851 GMT 16 Dec 89

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—The 780 delegates to the Christian Democratic Union [CDU] extraordinary party congress continued their deliberations this morning in Berlin. On the agenda this morning is the election of the party chairman and other members of the CDU leadership after a report by the Commission on the Examination of Mandates and other activities. The debate on the party's political program, its social concept, and other aspects is to be continued until this afternoon, according to the current agenda. [passage omitted]

De Maiziere Named Chairman

LD1612092189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0909 GMT 16 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin ADN—The extraordinary Christian Democratic Union [CDU] congress elected Lothar De Maiziere as party chairman this morning. Out of 759 delegates, 714 voted for De Maiziere, 28 voted against him, 15 abstained, and 2 votes were invalid.

Chairman's Report Endorsed

LD1612101189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0918 GMT 16 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The Christian Democratic Union [CDU] extraordinary congress in Berlin this morning endorsed the report by the chairman, the information about the activity of the main executive since the 16th party congress, and the completion of the work of the main executive. An amendment was added to the progress report on the election outcome of 7 May stating that the CDU did not succeed in "preventing the election fraud instigated by the Socialist Unity Party of Germany."

Earlier, the Credentials Commission announced that 797 delegates had been elected to the CDU Extraordinary Congress, of which 759 are present. A total of 108 delegates (14.2 percent) are women.

Kirchner Elected Secretary

LD1612122989 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1153 GMT 16 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Martin Kirchner, the 40-year-old senior church councillor from Eisenach, was elected general secretary of the Christian Democratic Union [CDU] at the party's special congress in Berlin this morning. Party Chairman De Maizierre had nominated the lawyer and member of the church council of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Thuringia. Kirchner was one of the four party members who began the renewal in the party with the "Letter from Weimar."

FRG'S Diepgen Welcomed

LD1612143189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1122 GMT 16 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The delegates at the Christian Democratic Union [CDU] extraordinary congress in Berlin welcomed (West) Berlin CDU Chairman Eberhard Diepgen with prolonged applause at noon. The politician congratulated party Chairman Lothar de Maiziere on his election.

A paper drafted at the venue of the congress today by the (West) Berlin CDU press office announces that Diepgen proposes to his party that a joint committee should be set up with the CDU in the GDR as soon as possible. This joint committee should also discuss forms of institutional cooperation between the two parties. Work on this will start in Berlin next week.

Officials Elected

LD1612183389 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1632 GMT 16 Dec 89

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—After the election of Lothar de Maiziere as chairman, the Christian Democratic Union [CDU] special party congress sitting in Berlin also decided on its deputy chairmen today. Horst Kurbella, Dr Rudolf Krause, Dr Gottfried Mueller, and Professor Dr Karl-Hermann Steinberg were elected to this position. Werner Skowron was elected treasurer. Professor Dr Siegfred Schulze is chairman of the investigating commission. Afterward, other members of the CDU main executive committee were elected.

During the electoral procedures, the debate on the position paper and the chairman's paper continued. Among the topics discussed were the rescue of nature and the cultural heritage, the gradual, complete disarmament of the GDR up to the year 2000, new legislation on state security and personal data protection, women in the CDU, as well as agricultural, health, and education policies. An electoral program was called for that favors the reintroduction of church feast days, a new structuring of the National People's Army, the dismantling of the concepts of the enemy, and also the equality of chances for all parties to have access to the media. [passage omitted]

De Maiziere Closes Congress

LD1612223189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2142 GMT 16 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—At the conclusion of the CDU [Christian Democratic Union] special party congress, party chairman Lothar de Maiziere expressed the hope this evening that the democratic forces of the people would work with perceptiveness and the necessary objectivity so that the GDR would reach 6 May—the longed-for day of a real democratic election—through the winter, unharmed.

He spoke in favor of real new thinking, incorruptibility and the conscious renunciation of cheap election campaign tactics. Only this could be the foundation on which a new CDU could stand, and for which one's fellow men could work. Here the way in which parties in countries such as the Federal Republic occasionally treated each other in public should not become a model.

In an earlier speech, De Maiziere had admitted that not all delegates had agreed with Diepgen's and Huber's behavior. Direct invitations had also not been issued; the guests had announced themselves and had wished to greet the party congress. Basic political remarks had not been intended. After the guests had spoken, he had at least to state that there was certainly a difference between the Diepgen's and Huber's statements. But he had also made this clear by different answers. It is also necessary in the future to be prepared to listen to opinions which differ from one's own.

Democratic Awakening Founding Congress Opens

LD1612130489 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1219 GMT 16 Dec 89

[Excerpt] Leipzig (ADN)—The founding party congress of the Democratic Awakening (DA) began on Saturday at noon in Leipzig. Approximately 300 delegates from all areas of the GDR must first decide on the draft agenda

before them. Situation reports from various parts of the country and reports of the temporary executuve, including Chairman Wolfgang Schnur, are foreseen for the afternoon.

The first reading of the draft program, which the LEIPZIGER VOLKSZEITUNG published in its weekend edition on the occasion of the Democratic Awakening founding party congress, is scheduled for the evening. This was worked out by the Leipzig groups of this association and accepted by the GDR-wide program group as a basis for the program to be adopted at the founding party congress.

Its demands include the division of state and parties, the abolition of the state monopoly on information and the media, and social control of the state. Democratic Awakening supports greater economic effectiveness and social justice and intends to work for the ecological rebuilding of industrial society. Democratic Awakening also supports a German confederation within a European peace order. [passage omitted]

Program Published

LD1612173389 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1221 GMT 16 Dec 89

[Text] Leipzig (ADN)—Democratic Awakening speaks in favor of a German confederation within a European peacetime order in a draft program published by LEIPZIGER VOLKSZEITUNG in today's edition, on the occasion of the founding party congress of Democratic Awakening.

The basic aim of the GDR's foreign policy must continue to remain the prevention of war. A particular responsibility for European and world peace arose from history for the Germans, it says in the draft which is the basis for the program to be passed at the party congress.

In the preamble, the failure of Leninism—not only of Stalinism—in view of the problems of modern industrial society, is cited as a significant cause of the crisis in the GDR. Its vision of shaping internal policy with the prospect of the state "dying out" and in accordance with the principles of direct democracy failed. That led to bureaucratic centralism and to the arbitrary rule of one party. What was called actual socialism was an authoritarian and centrally organized society characterized by a despotic political heritage. The crisis in the GDR society, however, also reflected the crisis of modern industrial society as a whole, with its structures of rule and ecological destruction.

"For this reason, our conviction that ecological and social factors are linked with one another is all encompassing for and determines our programmatical thoughts and efforts; our treatment of nature, in particular our way of producing and consuming, determines how we live together to the greatest extent. The exploitation of natural resources and a lack of regard for the environment also cause social injustice and disregard for freedom and human needs. These destructive and restrictive mechanisms will cost coming generations, as well as ourselves, dearly." Support for a joint, just, and peaceful development of all regions of the world is a prerequisite for the future of humanity.

Part of the democratization of society is a political system based on free and equal elected bodies which emerge from secret elections with lasting power. The separation of the legislative, the executive, and the judiciary; the decentralization of power; the reforming of administration in accordance with traditional regional borders will be the goals.

The entire exercise of power within the state is bound to justice and the law. The law particularly serves the protection of the weak and the maintainance of the natural environment. Indivisible human rights and civil rights must be protected by the GDR's laws. The principle of openness is a prerequisite for democracy.

On making the economy more dynamic and on ecological restructuring, it is stated that this can only be mastered within a comprehensive system of economic and ecological cooperation in Europe. "Our orientation toward a socially and legally bound market economy which integrates ecological demands into its mechanism and actively participates in the international division of labor is contained in the unity of structural planning and guidance by the market."

Also included in the draft program are proposals on a new order of social property, on reviving the economy, on fitting in foreign trade, on openness, and on the infrastructure, as well as on the ecological restructuring of the economy inter alia.

The starting point in the GDR is one of a relatively high level of social security which is threatened by the acute economic crisis. Thus there is the danger that, in view of the necessary emphasis on the work performance principle, the weak will no longer be caught by the social net. For this reason, it is necessary to promote solidarity within society.

The paper did not publish the ideas on the family and partnership, education, science, the media, the church, and culture due to lack of space.

Report From Representatives

LD1612174389 East Berlin ADN Interantional Service in German 1500 GMT 16 Dec 89

[Text] Leipzig (ADN)—At the founding party congress of Democratic Awakening in Leipzig, representatives from the bezirks [areas] gave reports this afternoon on the situation of their organization in the territories and on the work done up to now.

There were varied opinions, above all, regarding reunification, the use of market economy in the GDR, and the future application of the concept of socialism. While, for example, representatives from Erfurt spoke in favor of

no further experiments in socialism and a clear statement from the party congress on the question of German unity as a catalyst for further development, those from Leipzig spoke energetically against such formulae.

Differences in the work of Democratic Awakening hitherto were clearly revealed. As people in Potsdam are still trying to build up the movement, members in the Frankfurt Bezirk, for example, are already assuming an advisory function at the Fuerstenwalde Kries [district] council. The spokesman from the Wittenberg, Halle Bezirk, according to whom there is not yet a Halle Bezirk association in existence, reported about the good relations with the group Democracy Now and the work done at the roundtable.

Delegates from Karl-Marx-Stadt criticized the very poor information network within the organization. Communication is extremely difficult between the bezirk association and the Berlin party executive. In this context, too, numerous delegates spoke in favor of the formation of national associations.

The Erfurt spokesman represented the opinion that hitherto the change has overlooked the national economy. The Rostock representative emphasized that this is also true of industry, where the management executives, put in by the Socialist Unity party of Germany, are still running things.

Chairman Favors Coalition

LD1612184489 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1753 GMT 16 Dec 89

[Text] Leipzig (ADN)—In his report to the founding party congress in Leipzig, Wolfgang Schnur, chairman of the provisional executive of the Democratic Awakening, spoke today in favor of a coalition of reason in domestic politics. On the elections on 6 May, with a program of renewal, it would be advantageous to enter into an election alliance in order to gain the capacity to govern. The new party is dependent on every ally but at the same time wishes to make clear the relationship to the parties already established in the GDR.

Schnur warns against wishing to exclude a person politically. He is happy that the members of Democratic Awakening represent many varied opinions. The executive has to hear the critical voices from the grass roots. It is also necessary to better coordinate the work between the executive bodies and the regions.

Speaking about the relationship to the parties in the FRG, Schnur said that they have spoken to all the parties represented in the Bundestag. However, these contacts did not lead to financial or material dependency. There were no stuffed attache cases from the FRG.

Congress Continues

LD1712095189 East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German 0900 GMT 17 Dec 89

[Excerpt] The debate at the founding party congress of Democratic Awakening, which is continuing its deliberations in Leipzig at the moment, is dealing with its future program. The aim is to go to the public this evening with a viable policy for government. [passage omitted]

Subgroups End Discussion

LD1712151989 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1241 GMT 17 Dec 89

[Excerpts] Leipzig (ADN)—After several hours of heated debate the more-than 250 delegates at the founding congress of Democratic Awakening ended the subgroup discussions of the party's program at Leipzig's Bruehl Center this afternoon. The focus of the debate, which was fierce at times, were details of the submitted draft program "Democratic Awakening—Social and Ecological." [passage omitted]

This afternoon the delegates of the founding congress will discuss the supplementary and, in-part, amended draft program in a plenary session.

Candidates Nominated

LD1712174389 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1647 GMT 17 Dec 89

[Excerpts] Leipzig (AND)—The nominating committee passed on the names of the nominees for the executive to the delegates of the founding party congress of Democratic Awakening this afternoon. So far, Pastor Friedrich Schorlemmer (Halle), lawyer Wolfgang Schnur (Rostock) and Dr Sonja Schroeter (Leipzig) have been nominated for the office of chairman of the party.

The second reading of the draft program became a tough struggle over the details of the future program of Democratic Awakening. Various commissions had previously worked out various proposed amendments and put these forward in the plenary session. [passage omitted]

In the course of the debate on the draft program, one explosive issue was the current formulation about the future of nuclear energy. With 13 votes against, the delegates decided on a medium-term withdrawal from this form of energy production. For the time being, nuclear power plants were not replaceable, it now says. Thus the proposal not to continue the planning or building of nuclear power plants and to shelve current ones as soon as possible was rejected. [passage omitted]

The delegates adopted the motion that the right to German unity should be enshrined in the GDR Constitution. There were 35 votes against.

Statute Adopted

LD1712223989 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2012 GMT 17 Dec 89

[Text] Leipzig (ADN)—The statute adopted at the founding congress of "Democratic Awakening—social, ecological" today places the new party within the GDR Constitution and commits it "to working for the political formation of the citizens' opinions on the political, social, economic, and cultural development of the GDR."

The party's headquarters is in Berlin. Its activity covers the entire GDR territory. "In order to ensure a viable structure, local, kreis [district], and national associations, a youth organization and expert working groups are to be set up. The party offers to all citizens who recognize the principles of the party involvement in the expert working groups without becoming a member of the party. The expert working groups will be effective at all regional levels and at the republic level.

"In order to develop a grass-roots democracy, the statute accords as much autonomy as possible to the local, kreis, and national associations. Decisive bodies here are the respective members or delegates assemblies."

The party unites "people who would like to collaborate on a democratic shaping of the GDR, in which the vital ecological, social, and democratic needs of people have priority over short-term obsession with growth.

"The party promotes the involvement of all citizens in the political, social, economic, and cultural shaping of the GDR." The working basis of the party is its party program of 17 December, 1989.

"The party will take part in the preparation and holding of elections to the various representative bodies at all levels. The bodies and officials of the party will be elected into and out of office on the basis of democratic involvement."

"Anyone who is 16 years of age" can become a member of the party. "Minors must present a letter of consent from their guardians.

"Every member must recognize the principles and decisions of the party, as well as its statute, and actively promote the work of the party.

"A member of the party cannot be a member of any other party."

Membership began with the presentation of the application for membership to the executive of the regional association at the lowest level in the area of the member's main or secondary residence.

The other passages relate to the structure of the party, the rights of the members, and internal party procedures.

Executive Elected

LD1712220689 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2116 GMT 17 Dec 89

[Text] Leipzig (ADN)—The founding congress of the "Democratic Awakening—social and ecological," concluded in Leipzig late tonight with the election of the party executive. After a final ballot, Wolfgang Schnur, who was acting chairman, was elected to this office. He won with 118 votes to 101 against the Leipzig doctor, Sonja Schroeter.

In his statement, the Rostock lawyer expressed gratitude for the confidence shown in him. He sees himself as a representative of a broad span of those who think and act as social democrats, socialists, Christians, and social ecologists. He is the ally of those who, on the basis of the party program, want to assume jointly the tasks and the political responsibility for the people. As party chairman he wants to do all in his power to ensure that the accepted political responsibility can become a reality in the GDR.

The 26-year-old music dramatist Christiane Ziller was elected press spokeswoman of the party. A Berliner, she was hitherto treasurer of Democratic Awakening. A mother of two, she ousted the current spokesman, Pastor Rainer Eppelmann, by 108 votes to 104.

Firearms Withdrawn From Leading Officials

AU1512162189 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 12 Dec 89 p 2

[ADN report: "Firearms Withdrawn"]

[Text] In accordance with a question raised at the 13th People's Chamber session concerning the possession of firearms by leading officials, the interior minister has announced measures aimed at the immediate confiscation of the weapons given to the officials on the basis of the decree on firearms, dated 26 March 1987. Yesterday, Monday [11 December], the return of all weapons and permits that had been granted for their legal possession was essentially concluded. In various cases—because of the temporary absence of the owner or because control organs had sealed offices—the pistols will be confiscated at a later date by the People's Police.

Gymnastics, Sports Federation Leaders Resign

AU1512160589 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 13 Dec 89 p 8

[Unattributed report: "Presidium and Secretariat of German Gymnastics and Sports Federation Resign"]

[Excerpts] After Sunday's [10 December] announcement of the resignation of the Secretariat of the German Gymnastics and Sports Federation [DTSB], the National Executive Committee met for further deliberations on GDR sports in Kienbaum on Tuesday evening [12 December]. [passage omitted]

With one abstention, the dissolution of the National Executive Committee was rejected, but the resignation of the Presidium and the Secretariat was approved with an overwhelming majority. After several petitions regarding internal rules, it was agreed to elect a working committee to which 25 members of the National Executive Committee will belong. [passage omitted]

After the election of this working committee, which will be chaired by Prof Hans-Georg Herrmann and head the DTSB, the next vote, which was still in progress at the copy deadline, was taken on a six-member working secretariat. [passage omitted]

New Marxist Political Party To Form

LD1812140689 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1241 GMT 18 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—At a 17 December session the founding group resolved to set up a Marxist party Die Nelken [The Carnations] by 15 January 1990. This emerges from a press statement given to ADN today and signed by spokesman Michael Czollek.

In an appeal to all workers is a call for the formation of enterprise councils so there will be no exclusion from decisions in enterprises and institutions and so effective control on production and administration will be facilitated.

Bezirk Security Offices Dissolving Begins

AU1812123989 East Berlin BERLINER ZEITUNG in German 11 Dec 89 p 2

[ADN/BZ report: "Dissolution of Security Offices Started"]

[Text] On Saturday evening [9 December], the working group for state security of the temporary commission of the Suhl Bezirk [area] assembly reported that the Bezirk Office for National Security will be dissolved.

The buildings used by the office so far will be given up and made available for other purposes. And the dissolution of the kreis [district] offices will also be started today.

In connection with inquiries by citizens, the commission stated that presently in the bezirk office only the absolutely necessary sectors are working, the information and counterintelligence sectors.

Also on Saturday evening, Major General Peter Koch, head of the Neubrandenburg Bezirk office, announced at a discussion organized by the New Forum and other movements and parties that the work of this bezirk office and its kreis offices will be stopped as of now.

In the meantime, a sworn independent investigation committee headed by Neubrandenburg pastor Ulrich von Sass started work as agreed between the citizens' movements, the prosecutor's office of the bezirk and the security office.

Lieutenant Colonel Michael Trostorff, head of the Gera Bezirk Office for National Security, has expressed concern about "an increasing tendency of neofascist excesses" in the GDR. A message published on Saturday states: "Therefore, I think it necessary to urgently recommend to the government, the representatives of the roundtable, all democratic and antifascist citizens to rethink their attitude toward an immediate dissolution of the office for national security in the present situation. The members of the Gera office are aware of the lost trust of the people, but in the present composition they are willing and able to enter a security partnership with all democratic-minded forces."

Ministry Rejects DPA Report on Waste Imports

AU1812201589 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 13 Dec 89 p 2

[ADN report: "Report on GDR Waste Imports Does Not Correspond to Facts"]

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—On Tuesday [12 December] the GDR Ministry of Environmental Protection and Water Conservancy issued a statement on a press report distributed by DPA on the same day, according to which "the environmentalist organization Greenpeace has accused responsible people in the GDR of continuing to spread disinformation about waste deals and resulting financial revenues." This does not correspond to the facts. The responsible GDR foreign trade enterprise Intrac has confirmed the statements made in the past that the GDR has received 80 to 100 million valuta marks every year for services rendered for the disposal of wastes from abroad. This is a mean value of the past 15 years. The money has been paid into the state budget. The revenues amounting to 170 million valuta marks mentioned by Greenpeace are the gross value of 1989.

Gysi Resigns as Lawyers College Chairman

AU1812181789 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 14 Dec 89 p 2

[ADN report: "Dr Gysi Suspends Work as Lawyer"]

[Text] East Berlin—In view of his election as chairman of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, lawyer Dr Gregor Gysi has resigned from his position as chairman of the Lawyers' College in Berlin and as chairman of the Council of Lawyers' Colleges. This was announced to ADN on Wednesday [13 December] by the Executive Committee of the of the Berlin College. Dr Gysi has suspended his activities for the time being, but remained a member of the college. The mandates assumed by Gysi will be carried out by representatives.

As was also announced, the members of the Lawyers' College in Berlin conveyed their thanks to Gysi at their Tuesday session [12 December] for his successful activity as chairman. Lawyer Dr Friedrich Wolff was elected as the new chairman.

Deputy Defense Minister on MiG Reduction

AU1812133389 East Berlin DER MORGEN in German 9-10 Dec 89 pp 1-2

[Frank Mangelsdorf and Hans-Juergen Nagel report: "This Is a Fact: The National People's Army Has 50 Fewer MiGs"]

[Text] Berlin—In October 1989 the Air Force of the National People's Army [NVA] cut over 50 fighter planes of the type MiG-21 SPS and SPSK; a fact that can be proved and verified. But our editors received letters which prompted us to make inquiries. Lieutenant General Rolf Berger, deputy defense minister and new head of the Air Force/Air Defense, answered for DER MORGEN the question "Have you reduced your stocks by 50 operational planes in real terms and according to the books?" as follows: "Yes, I categorically stand by that. This can be proved by any investigation committee, whether from the People's Chamber or the prosecutor general."

With its unilateral advance concession on military reductions, the GDR disbanded the "Wilhelm Pieck" fighter plane squadron and withdrew 50 planes from its total stock and took them out of commission. The appeal to disband the squadron, the simulatenous decommissioning of 50 planes in Drewitz, as well as the way the dismantling was presented, gave the impression that, first, these were machines of this squadron and that, second, all MiG planes of this version (they can be distinguished by the number of the suspension for guided and unguided missiles and for cannons) will be scrapped in the future. This goes back to the methods used in the propaganda work by the government then.

The statements by the former head of the Air Force/Air Defense, Lieutnant Colonel Reinhold, to the international public did not make it clear that there were two sides to the decision and that the planes with which the disbanded squadron was originally equipped, namely a more recent MiG type, had been exchanged for the demonstrated planes. Of course, it was also not expressly stated that the "withdrawal" does not mean a complete scrapping, apart from the use of the engines in the brown coal industry and of other parts for training purposes, for spare parts or for other purposes." [passage omitted]

The instruction of the former minister for national defense to prepare part of the planes—24 to be precise—for so-called re-export (resale) was also a taboo subject then. Lt Gen Berger on this issue: "This decision of the former minister was suspended by the new minister for national defense. The task of the Air Force/Air Defense was only to maintain the condition of the planes. I can confirm that not a single one of these planes is the subject of a contract at the moment. They all are at Drewitz airport. If now the government clearly states that there will be no re-export, these planes will be scrapped." Colonel Horst Kleest adds: "After the process of writing off, documents are issued for any plane that is written off, documents that are withdrawn, that will be passed on to us and have to be stored for a certain number of years in order to be able to draw conclusions from certain events retroactively."

In connection with the arms trade, the search for contractng partners and the conclusion of contracts by trading partners, the term IMES trading company is mentioned—a company that is not listed among the GDR foreign trade enterprises in the Berlin 1989 telephone directory and that was repeatedly metnioned in the past days in connection with obscure arms deals. Once again, Lt Gen Berger: "I do not know the mechanisms necessary for such contracts. The Air Force/Air Defense is not involved in the commercial side. It is neither an independent contract partner nor does it carry out such deals on its own. The NVA has nothing to do with the transactions."

Postscript: An inquiry at the Ministry for Foreign Trade confirmed that the IMES trading company is not under the control of this ministry. The commercial coordination sector with which the company is connected could not be reached by telephone.

4-Power Conference in Berlin Viewed

AU1812130389 East Berlin NEUE ZEIT in German 13 Dec 89 p 2

[Michael Albrecht commentary: "Showing the Flag in Turbulent Days"]

[Text] It was like in the old times. The black limousines were driven up, the ambassadors disappeared with their entourage in the building of the Allied Control Council, and the representatives of the mass media were left out in the cold. After the 2 and 1/2-hour talk between the high-ranking diplomats of the four former victorious powers, their agreement was as meager as in the days when the Berlin Agreement was negotiated here. This was 18 years ago, and the Control Council building fell into a deep, long sleep. However, now it has not been roused by a prince—if we stick to the fairy-tale metaphor—but by the tempestuous reformist development in the GDR.

The meeting of the four ambassadors, which took place at the Soviet Union's instigation, dealt officially with the discussion of the proposals, the so-called Berlin initiative, presented by former U.S. President Reagan in 1987. USSR Ambassador Kochemasov reacted benevolently to proposals by his counterparts from the United States, France, and Great Britain, it was stated later. And indeed, against the background of the new developments in the GDR, today Ronald Reagan's ideas, which were almost visionary at that time—that is, to make Berlin the air crossing point of Europe, a center of international life, a city with opened borders—have gained completely new importance today.

However, and this became apparent from another formulation of the meager press statement on the meeting of the "big four," there must have been more at stake in

the Control Council building. There was agreement on the importance of stability, it was stated, apparently meaning the latest developments in the GDR and the rapprochement between the two German states. It has recently been possible to deduce from some statements and commentaries from the capitals of the "four" that the Soviet Union, as well as the three Western powers, gradually have grown wary about this. The victorious powers of 1945, which, as a matter of law, still have a say in the further shaping of the future of Berlin and the two German states, are above all concerned about the speed of the change and the resulting uncontrollable dynamics of the new course.

Above all, the Soviet side is interested in clear, predictable developments because, in view of its own domestic turbulences, it needs diplomatic calm at its western political flank. Thus, the talk in the Allied Control Council building was probably envisioned during Gorbachev's meeting with President Bush off the Malta coast and during Mitterrand's visit to Kiev. The fact that the three Western powers did not turn a deaf ear to the Soviet side can be explained by the general interest of the four in being able to continue their influence on the developments in the two German states. The announcement that further meetings would be absolutely possible substantiates the impression of the new "common interests" of the Allies as regards the German question.

All those forces that are talking big about "reunification" of the two German states and are demonstrating vociferously for it should take note of this trend. Stability of the existing borders and respect for the territorial-political realities in Europe are currently on the agenda. The political future of the two German states, irrespective of the way in which they will find together, also depends on those powers that defeated pan-Germany once and are today its friends and allies. One should and must listen to their voice.

Secretary Baker's Statements on GDR Assessed

AU1812181589 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 14 Dec 89 p 1

[Gerd Prokot article: "Careful"]

[Text] The Americans are said to not be particularly interested in events outside their own country. An opinion poll in October showed that 80 percent of the citizens were well informed about the fact that film actress Zsa Zsa Gabor had slapped a policeman's face, but were not or were hardly informed about events in East Europe.

This widespread disinterest has apparently disappeared. We are following developments in the GDR "with considerable interest," said U.S. Secretary of State Baker, who came to Berlin (West) on board "Air Force Two" for a surprise visit to expound Washington's ideas for a "new European architecture." This design is as brilliant in its careful and pragmatic approach as it is contradictory in its details. A German solution, no matter what it may be, cannot be pushed through and must "consider the justified interests of all concerned in a new Europe."

Baker's visit to Potsdam made clear that, in his view, North America and the Soviet Union are not the only ones concerned. In his talks with GDR Prime Minister Modrow, he expressed the U.S. interest in a peaceful and stable development of the GDR. German unity was not discussed. However, they did talk intensively about a new quality of bilateral relations.

A GDR premier visiting the Oval Office of the White House some day? This idea is not as illusory as it was weeks ago.

Commentary on EC Meeting, Reunification

AU1812115689 East Berlin BERLINER ZEITUNG in German 11 Dec 89 p 2

[Bo Adam commentary: "EC Yellow Card for German Nation"]

[Text] Chancellor Kohl really would have liked to leave for the forthcoming negotiations in the GDR with Western Europe's clear vote in favor of his maximum claims in the German policy. But the EC Strasbourg summit of this weekend spoiled his plans. Nothing was discussed more extensively by the leading Western European heads of states and government than the Federal Republic's short paper on the unity of the Germans.

In the end, the corresponding passage in the final communique under the leadership of France's Francois Mitterrand and Great Britain's Margaret Thatcher was provided with clear references to the CSCE resolutions (they confirm the sovereignty of the GDR) and to the inviolability of the borders in Europe. In addition to that, the EC agreed to conclude a trade and cooperation agreement with the GDR in the first half of 1990.

If the leading stateswomen and statesmen of Western Europe showed Chancellor Kohl the yellow card, then it was certainly not selfless sympathy for the GDR or socialism. But it was clearly for their own interests and out of the responsibility for the stability of the continent. For they have their historical experiences with pan-Germanist ambitions. And not only the Schoenhubers (they are just the top of the Teutonic iceberg) show them that today vigilance is again necessary.

This Western European vigilance will hopefully help the government under Modrow at the forthcoming negotiations in Dresden to more quickly get to the technical questions, to the concrete development of the contractual community aimed at by both sides and useful to both the GDR and the FRG citizens, without confusing the developing European house.

This warning shot from Strasbourg is also of advantage for the discussion on the GDR's domestic policy. For here, too, there are politicians who—after even having first missed the turn of events—now seem to vaguely

pick up German nationalist feelings of a part of the people in their image neurosis. Maybe they believe they will be able to catch votes in this way and thus be able to escape to the new era, which would be rougher for them, too. But they have to realize that Europe does not want that.

Modrow Meets FRG's Von Weizsaecker in Potsdam

LD1712172189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1555 GMT 17 Dec 89

[Text] Potsdam (ADN)—GDR Prime Minister Hans Modrow and FRG Federal President Richard von Weizsaecker met this afternoon in the Nikolaikirche in Potsdam. The two politicians were greeted by loud applause from over a thousand visitors.

Leaders Attend Church Service

LD1712172689 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1658 GMT 17 Dec 89

[Excerpt] Potsdam (AND)—FRG President Richard von Weizsaecker was the guest of a Christmas carol service in St Nikolai Church in Potsdam late this afternoon. He was accompanied by acting GDR State Council Chairman Prof Manfred Gerlach, GDR Prime Minister Dr Hans Modrow, and Consistorial President Dr Manfred Stolpe, deputy chairman of the Conference of Evangelical Church Leaderships in the GDR. Also present were Dr Franz Bertele, head of the FRG's Permanent Mission to the GDR, and other diplomats. [passage omitted]

News Conference Held

LD1712212689 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2007 GMT 17 Dec 89

[Text] Potsdam (AND)—The joint interest in the stability of the GDR state, the further development of democracy, and the success of the reform process was proclaimed by the leading representatives of the GDR and FRG Federal President Richard von Weizsaecker in Potsdam tonight. After a visit to the traditional Christmas carol concert at St Nicolai Church in Potsdam, Professor Dr Manfred Gerlach, the acting chairman of the GDR Council of State; GDR Prime Minister Dr Hans Modrow; and CDU [Christian Democratic Union] Chairman Dr Lothar de Maizere met with Von Weizsaecker in Cecilienhof Castle. They were invited to a reception there by Consistory President Manfred Stolpe, deputy chairman of the Conference of Evangelical Church leaders in the GDR. Earlier, the political representatives gave an international news conference.

At the start of the talk with the press, which Dr Franz Beterle, the head of the FRG's permanent mission in the GDR, and Prince Friedrich Wilhelm of Prussia also attended, the federal president expressed his thanks for the invitation to pre-Christmas Potsdam. The federal president, again after many years, was able to drive over the Glienicker Bridge on his way to Potsdam. This bridge, which links Berlin and Brandenburg March, will "not keep us from remaining both thankfully and responsibly aware of the situation in which we find ourselves." Von Weizsaecker stressed that both German states have made a considerable contribution to the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe [CSCE] process. Both have always been aware that the special sense of belonging together should not be a brake but a driving force for the sense of unity together of the Europeans. "We Germans, independent of whether we meet our responsibity in the GDR or in the Federal Republic, both have an interest in ensuring that our alliance partners can reply on the word we have given." Moreover, the neighbors, such as Poland, should not need to have any worries about their territory because of the two German states moving closer.

Von Weizsaecker stressed that the two German states must take care that "the speed of German affairs and that of European and security policy matters do not get too out of step, but, at the same time, we should also pay attention to the internal developments in the GDR and in our own country too. We in the Federal Republic must and want to share in the thought process and to be available, as far as this is desirable and useful, to the GDR. But, of course, we do not want to exercise undue influence. We can in no way rob them of their own process of developing opinions and making decisions." This applies equally to the various areas. The federal president emphasized that the GDR must retain its ability to act as far as the formation of the legitimized bodies is concerned. In his opinion it is important that the law-governed state proved its effectiveness and that it is shown respect. In this connection, he said that the present commitment should be directed less toward the past and more toward the future.

The federal president added that politicians' speeches and leaders in the FRG media should not presume to dictate what should be thought in the GDR. "We not only must, but we can and want to help to the utmost of our ability, both materially and economically, as far as it is desired here, as far as accords with the structure of the reform measures, as far as is perceptible and tolerable for the people here. We want to contribute toward consolidating trust, both in the political-ideological and the economic-material process." He expressed the conviction that both of these processes can and will succeed. There is no problem that cannot be solved through patience and level-headedness.

FRG President Richard von Weizsaecker said: "If both German states remain aware of the fact that, along with their neighbors and in the whole of Europe, they are and remain embedded in a process of peace and cooperation, then we are moving toward a future that will require many difficult decisions from us all, but that overall can fill us with the confidence that we will able to master it."

For his part, GDR Prime Minister Hans Modrow expressed satisfaction at being able to meet the federal president to exchange views. He also referred to the Glienicke Bridge, the crossing of which is now in line with the new situation between the two German states.

Modrow agreed with Von Weizsaecker's remarks and pointed out that at the meeting with the federal chancellor next Tuesday, the responsibility of the two German states must be made visible. "All our allies expect, as I understood U.S. Secretary of State Baker to be saying here in Potsdam, that there is a stable German Democratic Republic and that everything is interrelated in responsibility for Europe's development. In the same way, the Soviet side expects that we will stand by our word as allies, just as the parties and social organizations currently working in the People's Chamber stand by the decisions of the Warsaw Pact. I am also assuming that the new democratic forces will take on an understanding of this responsibility to both sides, just as we see our responsibility in this way."

The head of government stressed that state legality is needed for the stability of the GDR. He agreed with Von Weizsaecker that retrospection and the things which have to be dealt with are not even half of the entire matter. What is important is to look forward, to work on what will be discussed again at the roundtable tomorrow.

Laws are being prepared, which will make possible the elections arranged in principle for 6 May, 1990. "Everyone must show understanding of the fact that elections will only go well if there is stability, be it political or economic. Only in this way is it possible to make free and democratic decisions. Only in this way can the parties, all democratic forces, face up to the voters with their programs, their strategies, and discuss this together in a trusting way. Thus, in all these processes, there is a great responsibility, especially for the future.

Modrow added that a truly democratic awakening and a good understanding for these processes is present among the GDR people. He described how, when leaving the Nikolai church after the Christmas carols, a spokesman of New Forum-Potsdam emphatically said: "Mr Prime Minister, we are by your side in all your efforts when it is a matter of the peaceful life in our country, when the objective is that we together undertake the next step, the next stage of our way." This underlined that an active government is the precondition for free elections on 6 May. The GDR government, with changes to the Constitution and other decisions, created preconditions for the GDR-FRG cooperation. Even so, nobody should overlook the problems that existed when the people of the two German states met. This demands, from both sides, responsible and tactful action. Referring once again to the impending meeting with Federal Chancellor Kohl, Hans Modrow underlined: "The Europeans must be shown that the two German states are aware of their responsibility in Europe for peace and peaceful coexistence, and that they deal responsibly with issues which they have to settle, whether they touch on aid, support, or cooperation."

Professor Dr Manfred Gerlach, who welcomed the visit by the FRG head of state to the GDR, said that his visit is a signal for beneficial cooperation, as was also expressed in his interview with GDR television. His statesmanlike attitude is encouraging for a closer cooperation, for the meeting of peoples of the two German states, and for peace in Europe. He expressed hope that the federal president's view will also influence the roundtable, namely in the spirit of understanding for the popular interests, for the national interests. There is a new German Democratic Republic from which peace should emanate and which will also act uncompromisingly against all manifestations of anti-Semitism and neofascism. Opening up and democracy can never mean giving space to the enemies of democracy, the enemies of the people.

Weizsaecker Meets Modrow

AU1712193589 Hamburg DPA in German 1457 GMT 17 Dec 89

[Text] Potsdam—During his private visit to Potsdam on 17 December, Federal President Richard von Weizsaecker unexpectedly also met with GDR Prime Minister Hans Modrow (Socialist Unity Party of Germany-Party of Democratic Socialism) [SED-PDS]. Modrow was waiting for the federal president in the afternoon in the crowded St Nicolai Church, where festive Advent singing and a service took place. The more-than-1,000 churchgoers welcomed both politicians, in particular the federal president, with a long, standing ovation.

Von Weizsaecker and Modrow reportedly intend to meet for talks on Sunday. Weizsaecker, who is visiting the GDR for the first time since he entered office as federal president, came at the invitation of the Evangelical Church. Upon his arrival, he first had a talk with Manfred Stolpe, consistory president of the Evangelical Church in the GDR. Weizsaecker was accompanied by Bonn's permanent representative in East Berlin, Franz Bertele.

Responsibility Stressed

AU1712205489 Hamburg DPA in German 1946 GMT 17 Dec 89

[Excerpt] Potsdam—FRG President Richard von Weizsaecker and GDR Prime Minister Hans Modrow in Potsdam on 17 December stressed the responsibility and the obligations that the two German states have in their respective alliances. Both made statements before journalists following talks for which they had met in Cecilienhof Castle during the federal president's visit to Potsdam.

Weizsaecker stressed that the responsible people of the two German states had an interest in the fact that "our

alliance partners can rely on our words." He said it was equally important that our neighbors, such as the Poles, did not have to worry about their territory again when the two German states will be getting closer to each other.

According to the federal president, the FRG and the GDR should also be a driving force, and not a brake, for the integration of the Europeans. Weizsaecker also endorsed the Federal Republic's readiness to help the GDR. "We must give material aid to the best of our ability, if this is desirable."

Modrow also stressed the two German states' responsibility in Europe. He said that he would also make this clear in his talks with Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl on 19 December. He said that all allies, including those of the FRG, wanted to have a strong GDR, as U.S. Secretary of State James Baker had told him recently. The Soviet side also expected "us to stand by our word."

The parties that are now represented in the People's Chamber and the social organizations also endorsed the decisions for the Warsaw Pact, Modrow said.

Modrow stressed that the free elections scheduled to be held in May, "about which nothing will be changed," could only take a good course if the situation was economically and politically stable. That also included the fact that the government had to remain stable until the elections, said Modrow, who specifically stressed that he believes in democracy.

Manfred Gerlach of the Liberal Democratic Party of Germany, the acting State Council chairman, who appeared together with Weizsaecker and Modrow before the reporters in Cecilienhof Castle, expressed the expectation that the federal chancellor's visit to the GDR would send a "signal" for German-German cooperation. [passage omitted]

Chancellor Kohl Winds Up Visit to Budapest

Nemeth Hosts Dinner, Offers Toast

LD1612221389 Budapest MTI in English 2121 GMT 16 Dec 89

[Text] Budapest, December 16 (MTI)—After the prime ministerial talks, Chancellor Kohl met representatives of the Federation of Germans in Hungary, and the leaders of the Maltese charity service.

In the evening, Miklos Nemeth and his wife gave a gala dinner in the honour of Chancellor Kohl and his wife in the parliament building. The event was attended by several senior representatives of Hungary's political, economic and cultural life, and toasts were delivered by the two prime ministers.

Mr Nemeth greeted his guest and surveyed the road covered by the country until the proclamation of the Republic of Hungary on October 23, 1989, marking the beginning of the establishment of parliamentary democracy and a constitutional, law-governed state based on a multi-party system.

Mr Nemeth spoke about the economic changes and the establishment of a market economy based on mixed property. Hungary seeks for the possibilities of establishing the broadest possible institutional relations with the European trading blocks, for which it requires effective support from the more advanced countries, including the FRG, Mr Nemeth said.

The prime minister said "the facts that Hungary played a pioneering role in the current renaissance of the Central European peoples and therefore enjoys the distinguished and sympathizing attention of the FRG fills us with a pleasant feeling."

Mr Nemeth went on to say, "I am convinced that the elimination of division in Europe and the settlement of the German issue are closely interrelated issues. None of them can be achieved to the detriment of the other. We profess that the European borders are inviolable but we hope that in the common European house, in the united Europe, the borders will gradually lose their original purpose and become symbolical. In today's Europe, East-West relations are characterized by dialogue, genuine cooperation and mutual respect for one another's interests, marking a new stage in the elimination of the cold war," the Hungarian prime minister said and raised his glass to the health of his guests, friendship between the German and Hungarian peoples, the common European goals, and peace.

Kohl, Nemeth on German Question

AU1612181089 Hamburg DPA in German 1631 GMT 16 Dec 89

[Statements by FRG Chancellor Helmut Kohl and Hungarian Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth at dinner honoring Kohl in Budapest on 16 December]

[Text] Budapest—According to Hungarian Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth, the German question should be definitely settled in stages and by peaceful steps. At a dinner in honor of Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl (Christian Democratic Party of Germany) [CDU], Nemeth said in Budapest on Saturday [16 December]: "We acknowledge the fact that the existing European borders are sacrosanct." However, in a Europe that is becoming unified, these borders would lose their original meaning and would exist instead as "symbols," he said.

Nemeth said that the abolition of the division of Europe and the settlement of the German question were closely interrelated and that neither of the two could be resolved "at the expense of the other." Nemeth said that the Germans could "find an adequate form for their national development only in peace and security and in a Europe where the international agreements, the historical realities, and the basic interests of other peoples are taken into account, and where there is cooperation."

Kohl said in his dinner speech that Bonn fully supports the Budapest government on its difficult road toward economic reforms: "Hungary can rely on the Germans." Without the example of Hungary, development in the GDR would "certainly not have taken such a breathtaking course," stressed Kohl.

At the beginning of his 3-day visit to Hungary, the federal chancellor thanked the Budapest government for its decisive contribution to solving the problem of GDR refugees this summer. Receiving an honorary doctorate from Eotvos-Lorand University, Kohl said: "At that time, Hungary removed the first stone from the Wall." After the Hungarian border had been opened on 10 September, far more than 10,000 GDR refugees went to the West.

The chancellor described freedom and self-determination as the "core of the German question." He said that the goal of the Germans in East and West was "a free and united Germany in a free and united Europe." Kohl stood up for the further strengthening of the EC. He said that it should be open to the East, however.

In the morning, Kohl was received at Budapest Airport by Prime Minister Nemeth with military honors. Following the visit to the university, Kohl and Nemeth held talks for about 2 hours.

During his first ride across town, Kohl had the motorcade stop twice to greet the people. After having laid a wreath at the Memorial of the Unknown Soldier in the Square of Heroes in Budapest, Kohl and his wife Hannelore went to a crowd of curious onlookers to shake hands.

This Sunday, Kohl will follow a private agenda and will attend a mass officiated by Cardinal Laszlo Paskai in Esztergom, 60 kilometers north of Budapest. On Monday [18 December], the federal chancellor will give

a speech at the Hungarian parliament. Finance Minister Theo Waigel accompanies Kohl on his visit to Budapest.

Kohl Speech to Assembly

LD1812160989 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0915 GMT 18 Dec 89

[Speech by FRG Chancellor Helmut Kohl to the National Assembly in Budapest on 18 December; Kohl speaks in German with simultaneous translation into Hungarian—live]

[Text] Mr Chairman, right honorable ladies and gentlemen, esteemed house, ladies and gentlemen! I have received with great joy and gratitude your invitation to address the Hungarian National Assembly today. The National Assembly building in which you are receiving me is the symbol of the rich tradition of Hungarian parliamentarianism, just as this impressive building is the center of the Hungarian nationwide political life. The Hungarian assembly has been a yardstick in the reform program, in the process of opening and transforming Hungary, pointing in the direction of pluralism and democracy. Therefore, ladies and gentlemen, allow me to convey to you my most sincere praise, paritcularly for those deep-rooted resolutions aimed at changing the Hungarian Constitution by which you have opened the door to a democratic constitutional state, to a state based on respect for human rights, on securing civic freedom and rights, on the democratic legitimization of the government, and on the government's activity being based on private initiative in terms of the constitution, law, and legislation.

Nothing can bear greater witness to the reforming role of this esteemed house than the ex-speaker of the assembly, currently head of state, Matyas Szuros, who declared the formation of the Hungarian Republic from the balcony of this house on 23 October, 1989.

Ladies and gentlemen, this was a proud day in your history; it was this turning point which opened the door to a democratic future for Hungary. We have lived through this with very great joy, and we gladly shared in the joy and happiness of Hungarian society. We share your joy regarding the progress beyond this. It was for this reason, too, that I have come here to tell you that we, the FRG and the Federal Government led by me, want to support this country of yours on its road toward reforms.

We know very well that having embarked on the path of reforms Hungary will find itself again, will find its great historical and political role in the heart of Europe. We could say that it will find its way back to Europe. By embarking on the path of reforms Hungary gives courage and strength to all those on our continent who take a stand a for a future which is peaceful and, very important, based on a free self-government.

We also know that the success of your reform politics has decisively contributed to the transformation process and to the opening up in the USSR, in Poland, in Czechoslovakia, and, last but not least, in the GDR.

I know that especially in respect of the changes taking place in Germany, in the GDR, very many questions are being raised. The Hungarians are asking us whether owing to the changes taking place in other parts of central Europe Hungary will perhaps not be in the focus of attention anymore. I have come here to tell you that we know that the Hungarian reform process is decisive from the point of view of the reforms taking place in all areas of Europe, and that your success is the success of Europe. We do not forget this. And, as we have done to this day, we are ready to help wherever we can. [applause]

Ladies and gentlemen, you are still facing reform moves which significantly affect the economy. I know this from your current agenda and as a head of government, as a head of government of a country which had to carry out its own reforms I know well how difficult it is for a parliament to take unpopular measures. Somebody like me who has been a deputy for over 30 years knows that there are some differences between what is said in this house and what is said on the street. [applause] But, ladies and gentlemen, to be a member of parliament also means that you bear responsibility for the whole country and if the country needs progress in the interest of the future then you, too, have to display courage even if there is a need for unpopular measures which demand sacrifices from the individual. If there is a need for such structural transformation, reforms whose success may not be seen in 24 hours, nor in a week, may be required to ensure the success of the country.

All this demands courage, vision, and a sense of responsibility which extends beyond the borders of your country.

I would like to repeat once more: The success of the reforms in Hungary is of immeasurable significance not only from the viewpoint of the future prosperity of your country and of your citizens but also from the viewpoint of all reform states and thus the whole of Europe, too. I repeat, therefore, you can rely on your Western friends on this difficult road, and first among them on us Germans, on Germany. For it is precisely we, Germans, who owe an extraordinarily great debt to Hungary.

In the more than 1,000-year history linking our peoples 1989 already today occupies an outstanding place. Hungary, your country, opened the road toward freedom in front of tens of thousands of our compatriots. The traditional friendship between our countries in the form of close and trust-filled cooperation, already stood the test of the dramatic days of summer this year. The Hungarian Government, with a courageous decision which showed resolution and courage, opened the Hungarian border on 10 September to those GDR citizens who wanted to enter and who wanted to leave—to Germans—and by doing so, by this decision of yours,

you have given a decisive impetus to the reform endeavored beyond the Hungarian borders. We shall not forget this proof of friendship and solidarity with a fellow human being.

I would like to express my sincere thanks here and now, to the charitable aid organizations of the Hungarian Republic, to those many, many Hungarian citizens, men and women, who in their own way by making personal sacrifice without any kind of publicity, helped those seeking refuge and gave them homes. I have to say that Hungarians and Germans have never been so close in history. This 10 September 1989 gives very strong, durable impulses to our relations, pointing to the future. It is the task of all of us, taking advantage of these impulses, to further develop our relations in every sphere, and with this, once and for all, to contribute to the construction of a common European future.

In the future, political dialogue will play a key role on every level, not just between governments but also between parliaments and political parties. I greatly welcome the recent formation of the bilateral parliamentary deputies' groups, and wish them success in their functioning.

Beyond this, the political pluralism which is developing at breathtaking speed in Hungary provides further starting points for exchanges of opinions and cooperation between the parties, political institutions, and foundations of the two countries.

However, ladies and gentlemen, the most important role today and in the future continues to be played by the contacts between people, particularly between young people. I call on everyone whom this affects, towns and cities, churches and various bodies, to help promote meetings, wherever possible, between free citizens, primarily the young, in a Europe of open borders. In this connection, I will campaign for talks on eliminating visa obligations and on questions connected with this to begin as soon as possible.

The Germans living in Hungary, Germans in Hungary, can play a very important role in the area of forging links between the two people. The exemplary nationalities policy which has developed in Hungary on the basis of the Helsinki Final Act makes it possible for Germans in Hungary to decide with any problem to stay here in the land of their birth, for they are happy to live in Hungary because this is where they wish to build their lives and this is where they see the future of their children.

The German-Hungarian agreement, signed on 10 September 1987, in which from the start I saw the assertion of new concepts, gives the means for the Federal Government, the Federal Republic, to give help to the Germans in Hungary to preserve their language, culture, and traditions. This help is one of the important tasks of our Cultural Institute which is to open in Pecs. This help will benefit the entire Hungarian people. What can more effectively help the deepening of cultural relations, the strengtening of scientific and technical cooperation, and the development of new forms of economic cooperation, than the knowledge of each others' language?

Ladies and gentlemen, in the interests of economic cooperation between our countries, and pointing to the future, Hungary, through its cardinal laws and fundamental decisions, has created stable bases for opening itself up to the market economy and the world economy. Our bilateral agreement promoting and protecting investment has increased the attractiveness of Hungary to private capital searching for investment. The over (?200) Hungarian-German mixed enterprises already indicate a good interim balance. However, the opportunities are far from exploited.

For that reason and from this place, therefore, I call on the entrepreneurs of the two countries, primarily the entrepreneurs from the FRG, and particularly the small and medium-sized entrepreneurs, to take advantage of the possibilities for close economic cooperation; to contribute with their technical knowledge and commercial know-how to the success of the Hungarian reform policy, to support Hungary in this decisive phase of its reform policy.

Ladies and gentlemen, you know that the FRG is Hungary's most important Western trade partner, and you also know that a long time ago we transferred our foreign trade competence to the European Community. Precisely for this reason, I successfully and emphatically advocated that in 1988—the time of our presidency, the FRG, that is I, was president of the Common Market—the European Community should bring about the first trade cooperation agreement with a CEMA country, Hungary. Also in the wake of our emphatic support, the European Community not long ago decided to accelerate the liberalization of goods exchange before the deadline set down in the agreement which means that beginning 1 January 1990, within a few days, Hungarian goods will gain a free path to the Common Market.

From the viewpoint of the 1992 creation of the large internal market, opening out is of immense significance for Hungary. Beyond this, I do not know whether everyone here in Hungary is aware of this, but through this a 320-million-strong market will be entered. This will be the world's largest unified market. Moreover, by voting on a $1 billion medium-term structure-transformation loan for Hungary, the European Community is showing its readiness to offer help to Hungary in the difficult transitory period leading from a planned economy to a market economy. Beyond this, within the European Community, we would like to coordinate, in an appropriate manner, the totality of the West's measures of assistance.

Ladies and gentlemen, allow me also to speak about a delicate topic. Nowadays, a decisive role is played by the fact that Hungary will shortly conclude an agreement with the IMF on creating an enduring program of adaptation. I am aware that an important task awaits you in this matter, ladies and gentlemen, deputies of the

esteemed house, the Hungarian National Assembly, in the form of perhaps unpopular legislative measures. I imagine that you will understand if I say that it is not my right to intervene in your debate; I should not even like to do so. Yet, perhaps as a friend of your country and of yourselves, I can give advice, and this advice is, rather, a request. Open up your gates through your courageous and far-sighted resolution to this necessary and unavoidable decision, to the structural renewal of your country's economy, since it is in Hungary's elemental interest that its own indispensable efforts, together with the support of its friends which is now beginning, lead to the best results possible. Therefore, this also means that it will be a new European prospect for your country.

Through these courageous structural measures we regard forms of cooperation which might lead to a relationship of associated membership of the region's reform-countries in the European community as conceivable. In this manner, this will lead your national economies toward the European Community, with the objective of eliminating the economic-social differences in the center of Europe . Lasting peace in Europe is not conceivable if we do not eliminate the economic-social gulf between the two halves of Europe.

We welcome with pleasure that Hungary has reached an important milestone this year on its path leading to Europe. Some members of the Hungarian National Assembly recently took part in the sessions of the European Council, as special guests of the European Council. A month ago, Foreign Minister Gyula Horn applied for Hungary's admission into the European Council. The European Council represents more effectively than any other institution our continent's human rights traditions. Just this year, when we remember the human and civil rights declared by the French Revolution 200 years ago, it is of extreme significance in the eyes of all Europeans that Hungarians are actively contributing to the assertion of human rights in their own country and internationally. On this basis, we with pleasure support and have supported Hungary's application to join the European Council. [applause]

Mr Speaker, ladies and gentlemen, Europe's cultural unity—and you Mr Speaker mentioned this in your greeting—is a further objective of the European Council in the spirit of the Helsinki process. In this sphere, the Cultural Forum held in Budapest did forward-pointing work. Much of what was laid down in 1989—on the occasion of the Helsinki follow-up conference held in Vienna—regarding our continent's cultural identity, originated in Budapest in 1985. The clever and visionary Hungarian foreign policy long ago recognized, in the Helskinki process, especially in the Helsinki Final Act, the great chance, the great possibility for the current generation of Europe, for our continent's peaceful future, so that a common future based on respect for human rights and human dignity, on recognition of the rightful security interests of every state, and on a comprehensive dialogue and cooperation which serves the people's benefit, could be built.

Even in difficult times—let us just remember the first half of our decade—Hungary has again and again given the Helsinki process forward-pointing impetus. In this manner, it has satisfied its commitment stemming from the special responsibility of medium-sized and small countries. We are now witnessing how the fruits of the enduring all-European policy are slowly ripening. Without the Helsinki process the unfolding of the reform movement would not have become possible in central, eastern, and southern European countries.

Without the Helsinki process, confidence, the indispensable precondition for advancing disarmament and verifying armament, would not have developed between the West and the East. The U.S.-Soviet meeting in Malta allows us to hope that precisely in this sphere further advances can be expected next year.

In the focus of the joint interests of Hungary and the FRG is the preparation of the first agreement on European conventional armed forces, in Vienna. The objective of the agreement should not just be arms restrictions in the general sense, but the possibility to fully detach and eliminate large-scale rendering of accounts, because only in this manner can we, on our continent, make the core of the security problem, the predominance and superiority of the Warsaw Pact's armed forces, more resolvable and manageable. Only in this manner and for the same time since World War II, will a real possibility open up—and this should be our joint objective—to develop a comprehensive security system in Europe. This goal is worth every effort. Where it is possible, it is necessary to accelerate talks. Disarmament and arms limitation cannot fall behind Europe's dynamic development.

Mr. Speaker, ladies and gentlemen, the first peaceful revolution which is now taking place on German soil, requires from all of us in the heart of Europe, in the East and West, an awareness of responsibility vis-a-vis history and far sighted level-headedness. As the FRG chancellor I say with awareness that the rightful security requirements of all the participating countries must be taken into account. Therefore, the interests of all the neighbors must be taken into account.

All that is demanded now by the people in the GDR demonstrated that freedom, the free change of locality, the desire for the right of free self-determination, cannot be lastingly suppressed. Ladies and gentlemen, I do not even have to say it here, in the Hungarian parliament, that the nations which took shape in the course of historic development cannot and should not be artificially separated. Any policy in this direction, in the final analysis would be anachronistic, unjust, and have no future. However, it would be anachronistic and not deserve credit to allege that it is solely a matter for the Germans whether they can freely determine their fate and if so in what manner, whether the Germans should tread their path together with or against their neighbors. Think of painful history; we, in Germany, are well aware that this question, and the answer to this question do not

leave either our Eastern or our Western neighbors indifferent. Indeed, beyond this, we Germans are also responsible for the security of our neighbors, and not only must we appreciate their feelings, but we must respect them.

Ladies and gentlemen, I would put this very simply. Within a few days we shall reach 1 January 1990. With this, the final decade of this century will begin, a century whose first 50 years, primarily, brought endless suffering, pain, and trouble for the people, not lastly because of the actions committed by Germans. I believe that it is, indeed, our business to now avail ourselves of the opportunity provided by history, in the final decade of the century, so that we should act in the interest of peace, in the interest of freedom, in the interest of justice. And please believe me: You can be sure that the German people, in the FRG and in the GDR, would like one thing: It is their heartfelt desire that this peace should be lasting and that German soil should never again be the starting-point for fear, but rather for peace, a wish for peace and understanding between the peoples. [applause]

From the outset, the reply of the Germans—the Germans in the FRG—in these 40 years has been a European reply, and it will remain a European one, an all-European reply. We avow our membership in the European Community and in the Atlantic Alliance, and we view ourselves as belonging to a community of values of the free peoples. We wish to integrate Germany's future architecture and structure in Europe's structure, and by Europe I mean not only the European Community but all of Europe, just like it was formulated, first and foremost in the idea of the Helsinki process. Or to put it differently, to use Mikhail Gorbachev's expression of a European home, the German home can be built and prosper if it is incorporated in the European home. That is our objective, that is the objective of our policy. [applause]

And amidst this framework which has proved successful, we shall work for a just and lasting peace order in Europe, in which all the German people, like every people on earth, can regain unity through free self-determination, and so that it should be given the possibility to regain its unity. Let there be no misunderstanding: No matter how they decide we shall accept and respect the decision of our compatriots living in the GDR. And we hope that this is how our partners, our neighbors, will act.

We want to overcome the division of Europe, and within this of our homeland, in an organic manner, in an integral manner. What we want is for the citizens of all of Europe, including the Germans, to meet in common freedom. With this, we are clearly relinquishing every separate German path or individual undertaking and primarily every kind of backward-looking nationalism. The future of the Germans is quite simply Europe.

Mr Speaker, ladies and gentlemen, we Germans gratefully appreciate that Hungary's Government and people, not only since the summer of this year, have shown profound interest in our fate, have shared in our troubles, just like we follow Hungary's path out of a sympathy stemming from traditional friendly solidarity.

In this spirit I should like to conclude my remarks by again giving heartfelt thanks to you and to every representative, citizen of Hungary, women and men, for what you have done for us, Germans, and I ceremoniously promise that in the Europe which is increasingly closely intertwined, the Germans and the Hungarians will tread their paths increasingly on one another's side.

Ladies and gentlemen, this is our generation's historical task, that of a generation which includes the more elderly—just as I lived through the war in 1945 as a 15-year-old with lively awareness—who in your country and our country have drawn the consequences of this war; and it includes the young people's generation, who fortunately grew up in a world where war has become increasingly improbable.

Our road-marker is that this youth should build a common European future, a future which carries incredible possibilities, moreover the possibility that for the first time in modern history, in modern European history, we can tell the young 20-year-old Germans and Hungarians that if we are clever and if we jointly tread this path leading to the future, you will be the first generation which has been able to live in peace through your entire life. And if we jointly cooperate in this, we shall be able to say: They can live in peace and freedom throughout their lives. If this is what history writes about our generation, we can be satisfied with this result. [applause]

Nemeth, Kohl on Reforms, Romania

LD1812154989 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1500 GMT 18 Dec 89

[Text] The West German chancellor and the Hungarian premier held a joint news conference. Peter Zentai reports:

[Begin Zentai recording] Some key thoughts from the FRG chancellor: The success of the Hungarian reforms is an elemental interest to his country, and moreover, to the entire Western world. In the event of failure, the entire process of European unity could come to halt, since the East European changes constitute a precondition. In other words, the fear is groundless that the FRG might, perhaps for the sake of the GDR, stop assistance for Hungary. The chancellor mentioned, by way of example, the provision of necessary support if, perhaps, the Hungarians might have difficulties with energy supplies in the winter.

The Romanian situation was raised at the news conference. It is worthwhile quoting the reply from Hungarian Premier Miklos Nemeth. According to the reply, a suppressive system is not suitable whatsoever for incorporation into a process aimed at the unity of Europe, yet,

and Kohl also said this: Romania by all means has a place in the European home.

In reply to another question, Nemeth made a statement he admitted was risky. He feels there is a chance for a compromise in the Hungarian parliament, which would allow next year's budget to be adopted. [end recording]

Leaders on 'Exemplary' Relations

LD1812154189 Hamburg DPA in German 1444 GMT 18 Dec 89

[Excerpts] Budapest (DPA)—Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl has granted Hungary further strong support in the transitional phase from a planned to a market economy. In a speech to the parliament in Budapest on Monday, the chancellor recommended to the 400 or so delegates "as a piece of friendly advice" that they should make "courageous and far-sighted decisions even on unpopular measures. [passage omitted]

At a news conference afterward, together with the Hungarian Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth, Kohl said he agrees with his negotiating partner in Budapest that the two German states could "grow together gradually and organically, without pressure of time and without a schedule."

Kohl and Nemeth described the relationship between their two countries as "exemplary for East-West relations," as "friendly" and "unproblematic." Kohl announced a return visit by Nemeth to Bonn next year and agreed that the FRG would support Hungary in energy supplies if need arose in the next few winter months.

Nemeth expressed optimism at the news conference about getting the support of the parliament in Budapest for his cost-cutting policy, although this would require great sacrifices by the people. Within the context of Kohl's visit, five agreements were signed, some of them by Labor Minister Norbert Bluem. They apply to air, road, and goods transport and to easing the beginning of work on economic cooperation, the taking on of employees for professional training, and cooperation in the labor administrations of the two countries.

Prior to his return to Bonn on Monday evening, the chancellor also planned further meetings in Budapest with representatives of various parties in the country, thus with the Democratic People's Party, the Hungarian People's Party, and the Smallholders Party.

Szuros Meets Kohl, Comments

LD1812182589 Budapest MTI in English 1520 GMT 18 Dec 89

[Text] Budapest, December 18 (MTI)—Helmut Kohl, federal chancellor of the FRG, in Hungary on an official visit since Saturday, met with Matyas Szuros, interim president of the Republic of Hungary, in parliament on Monday. After the meeting, Mr Szuros briefed MTI on their cordial exchange of views.

He said that the meeting focussed on questions concerning international politics. The interim president of the republic stressed Hungary's determination to complete the democratization process and the fact that this process was integrated into the changes under way in Europe. He pointed out that in search of cooperation, democracies can be approached only by fellow democracies. He said there were countries that were interested merely in the advantages of the Hungarian processes. With the FRG there is a great deal more, as it has provided the most consistent and largest economic support to Hungary from Europe.

At the meeting, Mr Szuros also mentioned that as in 1956, the West had alrady given ample proof of its moral and political support, but economic aid is slower. It is crucial that the International Monetary Fund regard the invetments aimed at promoting Hungarian democracy as an aid to a long-term recovery. Mr Kohl, whose political manifestations have proven his fellow feelings with the Hungary, seemed to be aware that support is necessary to tackle the difficult problems and for the country to retain its pioneering role in European renewal, said Mr Szuros.

As regards his 10-item proposal prepared on the German question, the FRG chancellor said that a lengthy period of time is required for it to be realized. And now the emphasis was on the mutual approach of the two German states. Besides the intention of the population of the GDR, potential reunification depends on a number of factors including the position of the great powers. Mr Kohl expressed his thanks for Hungary's understanding in the question. Mr Szuros appreciated the FRG's attitude of caution while seeking the answer to the question with a view to the interests of other countries.

They also touched upon some minor questions which show that the process will not be a victory march at least in home politics, as compensation with regard to the property of GDR citizens as well as social political questions will be raised. It was emphasized at the meeting, that the process should be based on the autonomy of the German people.

The two politicians agreed that the relations between the two countries were free from problems. They stressed the importance of establishing trilateral cooperation between the FRG, the GDR and Hungary. The chancellor also suggested that a strengthening of cooperation between Hungary, the GDR, Czechoslovakia and perhaps Poland could substantially step up relations with the FRG.

Kohl Answers Journalists Questions

LD1812132189 Hamburg DPA in German 1255 GMT 18 Dec 89

[Text] Budapest (DPA)—Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl (Christian Democratic Union) will travel to Dresden tomorrow for intra-German talks with, in his own words, "considerable optimism and much goodwill". There is the possibility of doing sensible things for the present and for the future, Kohl stated today in Budapest in reply to journalists' questions on his meeting with GDR Council of Ministers Chairman Hans Modrow. Asked about the topics of the talks, Kohl said that "they were lying on the street, one just had to pick them up". The chancellor addressed, in particular, the areas of environmental protection and the transport links between the two German states.

Meets Party Heads, Leaves Budapest

LD1812203689 Budapest MTI in English 1916 GMT 18 Dec 89

[Text] Budapest, December 18 (MTI)—After an afternoon news conference, FRG Chancellor Helmut Kohl met at his residence Jozsef Antall, president of the Hungarian Democratic Forum, and then conferred with Sandor Kresztes, president of the Christian Democratic People's Party, Janos Marton, president of the Hungarian Peoples Party, and Vince Voros, national president of the Independent Smallholders' Party.

Herr Kohl left Hungary on Monday evening after concluding his three-day official visit here.

The chancellor was seen off from Ferihegy Airport, Budapest, by his host, Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth.

Writers Urge Solidarity With Romanian Protests

LD1812162189 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1500 GMT 18 Dec 89

[Excerpts] [Announcer] Zsuzsa Ladanyi reports from the Hungarian-Romanian border:

[Begin Ladanyi recording] In Nagylak, on the Hungarian-Romanian border, trucks form immeasurable lines—several hours of enforced rest. When I was there this morning, only vehicles carrying goods were allowed into Romania—one every 4-5 hours. Cars, regardless of the nationality of their passengers, were sent back. Hardly anybody arrived from the Romanian side. In the early morning, a few cars with Western licence plates crossed the border, also a few Polish cars.

A young woman going home to the FRG after having visited relatives in Romania said that when nearing Timisoara, police stopped them. Their papers were searched, and after it was established that there was no Romanian citizen in the car, they were forbidden to stop in the town. When they drove into Timisoara, they saw armed soldiers, tanks everywhere, and broken shop windows and street lamps. Despite the prohibition, they stopped for a short time and spoke to people, who said that the soldiers had been ordered to Timisorara from Oradea because local soldiers were not trusted. The soldiers had shot at demonstrators. People claim that the mother of a young child was run over by a tank. I also learned from the young woman of Romanian origin who was going home to the FRG that before and beyond Arad she saw tanks, soldiers, and policemen, but when driving through the town she did not notice anything extraordinary. [end recording]

[Announcer] Istvan Csurka and Sandor Csoori have sent the following declaration to our studio:

We Hungarians have the duty now to continue the human chain which began in Temesvar [Timisoara]. It is for this reason that we call on all of our compatriots who feel responsible for our brothers to come to the Square of Heroes tonight at 1830 and to join us. We will express our solidarity by standing there on the side of the moral force which will break the dictatorship in Romania, states the declaration signed by the two well-known writers.

By the way, the organizers call on everybody to express their support and agreement with the victims who suffered at the hands of the Timisoara police attack, and ask that they do so with decency and calm.

Groups Call Protest Against Romanian Government

LD1812181389 Budapest MTI in English 1503 GMT 18 Dec 89

[Text] Budapest, December 18 (MTI)—The Hungarian Democratic Forum (MDF) has called a large-scale demonstration for Monday evening [18 December] in Budapest's Heroes' Square in protest against the brutal suppression of the demonstration held in Timisoara during the weekend and the persecution of Laszlo Tokes. The rally will be addressed by Istvan Csurka, an MDF leader, and then participants are to march to the building of the Romanian Embassy.

The HSP [Hungarian Socialist Party] Presidium has been shocked by the news that the life of Laszlo Tokes and the safety of his family are under threat, MTI was told by spokesman Viktor Polgar. 'When a dictatorship attempts police intimidation of a priest and his supporters, it wishes to make clear that everyone who supports freedom and the protection of human rights is also under threaten. The Presidium protests against inhuman action and demands an end to the persecution of Mr Tokes. The spokesman said the Hungarian Socialist Party would also join the Monday evening candle-lit demonstration in Heroes' Square.

The national Executive Committee of the Independent Smallholders's Party passed a unanimous decision on Monday to participate in the rally.

The national Executive Committee of DEMISZ [Democratic Hungarian Youth League] also voiced its support and solidarity for the Romanian people in their fight for democracy and fundamental human rights. The body also calls on its young members to join the mass protest organized by the MDF.

'Thousands' March to Romanian Embassy in Protest

LD1812222589 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2100 GMT 18 Dec 89

[Text] [Announcer] Several tens of thousands of people gathered today at Heroes' Square [in Budapest] and proceeded to the Romanian Embassy to protest the persecution of Laszlo Tokes and the brutal repression of the Timisoara demonstration. You will hear Peter Trebics' report:

[Begin Trebics recording] The Romanian Embassy is in darkness. All the blinds are down on its facade, only a little light at the side indicates they are at home. The crowd of several thousand has been stopped by those marching or standing at the front. The Democratic Forum communique is being broadcast by loudspeaker.

The embassy building is protected by simply-dressed uniformed police, that is, they are not riot police. In front of them the organizers have also formed a line. The crowd is rhythmically shouting the name of Laszlo Tokes, but what one can hear most often is "Perish Ceau!" [vesszen Ceau] There is whistling, a storm of voices, a rattling of keys. Often the mood is frightening, causing a shiver to run down one's spine. A bottle was also thrown from the balcony of a block of flats next to the embassy, and it broke. Somebody also began to throw things.

The Transylvanian anthem bursts forth now and again. It is drowned by the wild, angry raging of the crowd. Even after several appeals, the human flood begins to move on only with great difficulty.

At the embassy gate, when the demonstrators arrived, a man on hunger strike sat there. He did not want to give his name. Two people have joined him by now. On the trees, fences, and pillars, young people are hanging and together with the crowd they chant: "Where is Tokes?"

The candles and torches are alight. The crested banners fly on high. The crowd is finding it hard to disperse. Just now a catapult also made its appearance. The enthusiasm of the demonstrators is still not flagging.

According to the plans, from there they will proceed back to Heroes' Square where people will again light candles, giving expression to their sympathy with their Transylvanian brethren, their support, and solidarity. For the moment, however, traffic is at a standstill on Thoekoely Road. People are standing still, and those who call on them to move on are shouted down. [end recording]

[Announcer] Silent demonstrations have also been held for Laszlo Tokes and for the participants of the Timisoara and Arad demonstrations, both in County Bekes and County Veszprem. Bekescsaba, Gyula, Oroshaza, and Veszprem were the scenes of the demonstrations.

Assembly Resolution on Laszlo Tokes Affair

LD1812184789 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1550 GMT 18 Dec 89

[Resolution issued by the National Assembly at the National Assembly session chaired by Mrs Robert Jakab—live]

[Excerpts] [Clerk Laszlo Karvalics] The National Assembly resolution on the affair of Laszlo Tokes: For the second time in a brief period, the National Assembly of the Republic of Hungary is compelled to diverge from the agenda and deal separately with the affair of Laszlo Tokes, minister of the Reformed Church in Timisoara. The pressing reality behind this is that the Romanian authorities have brutally violated basic human rights, disregarded the contractual obligations undertaken by the country, and, through a court decision, wished to give an appearance of legality when last weekend they attempted to evict Laszlo Tokes from his workplace and his home.

The unlawful procedure launched against the minister—who with unshakable consistency advocated the free exercise of human, nationality, and religious rights—his persecution and harassment by the authorities, which has lasted for several months, have justly given rise to indignation, not just in Hungarian public opinion, but also in wide circles of Romanian public life.

In the interest of halting the despotism of the authorities' actions against him, numerous social, political, and international church organizations, institutions, and public figures have raised their voices in protest. To our knowledge, Laszlo Tokes was not removed by the deadline indicated in the court verdict. A decisive role in this was played by the mass open protest, during which thousands of inhabitants of Timisoara took the minister under their protection, thereby preventing his eviction planned for last weekend. The events of the past days suggest that the consistent firmness of Laszlo Tokes and his self-sacrificing struggle to assert human rights in Romania met with wide-ranging support not only from among Hungarians, but from among the majority of the Romanian nation.

At the same time, alarming reports are coming in of more reprisals by the Romanian authorities and of their measures of suppression. In an official note, the Government of the Republic of Hungary called on the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania to respect the human rights guaranteed in international agreements and to fulfill the obligations arising from these. The acting president of the Republic of Hungary sent in defense of Laszlo Tokes a letter to Romanian leader

Nicolae Ceausescu, but Romania's ambassador in Budapest refused to accept it.

Despite all this growing international protest, the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania has disregarded one after the other the requests and protests sent in official form. It has turned a deaf ear to fulfilling its obligation to provide information, as contained in the Vienna final document.

The National Assembly of the Republic of Hungary states that the Romanian Government is not taking steps to eliminate the violation of rights in the case of Laszlo Tokes and his congregation. It is arbitrarily intervening in the international autonomy of the Reformed Church; it has refused all readiness to cooperate in the affair of the Hungarian minister. Indeed, with its further measures, it has aggravated the situation.

The National Assembly of the Republic of Hungary expresses its profound alarm at the conditions experienced in Romania in the sphere of human rights, and it calls on the Romanian Government to respect its obligations undertaken in international agreement, the basic principles laid down in its own Constitution, and to eliminate the discrimination applied against the nationality population.

It assures Laszlo Tokes of its support and solidarity, and it firmly protests the arbitrary procedures applied by the Romanian Socialist Republic's authorities against him, which trample his rights underfoot. It emphatically calls on the Romanian authorities to end without delay the minister's persecution, the harassment, the intimidation, the other reprisals against his family and congregation, and to make it possible for Laszlo Tokes to return to his job, thereby ensuring that he can practice his clerical vocation.

The National Assembly of the Republic of Hungary states that in accordance with the generally accepted principles and norms of international relations, they should take specific steps to defend the rights of Laszlo Tokes and his congregation; also the Romanian Socialist Republic should abide by its obligations to this effect, contained in international agreements.

The National Assembly of the Republic of Hungary asks the Hungarian Government to send this statement to the UN secretary general and to the appropriate relevant international forums and organizations.

[Signed] The chairman of the National Assembly's Foreign Affairs Committee. [passage omitted]

[Mrs Jakab] I declare the resolution adopted. The National Assembly has taken its stand on the affair of Laszlo Tokes. The Foreign Ministry will carry out the ensuing tasks.

General Election Set for 25 Mar

AU1812161189 Paris AFP in English 1534 GMT 18 Dec 89

[Text] Budapest, Dec 18 (AFP)—Legislative elections in Hungary are expected to be called for March 25 next year, French conservative leader Alain Juppe said here Monday, after a one-hour meeting with interim president Matyas Szuros.

Mr. Juppe, secretary general of the Rally for the Republic (RPR) party, said "Mr. Szuros confirmed to me that the current parliament will decide to dissolve itself before the current session ends, after which, Mr. Szuros will sign the decree calling legislative elections for March 25".

Mr. Szuros is also the parliamentary speaker.

The parliament, which was due to be wound up at the start of this week, is now expected to be dissolved either Wednesday or Thursday, as demanded by opposition groups.

Josef Antall, head of the Democratic Forum, the country's main opposition group, said early Monday that its candidates would contest every seat.

Democratic Forum hopes to pick up 40 per cent of the vote, with between 160 and 180 deputies in the 360-seat assembly.

National Assembly Session Continues

2d Day's Agenda

LD1912095789 Budapest MTI in English 0916 GMT 19 Dec 89

[Text] Budapest, December 19 (MTI)—The December session of the Hungarian National Assembly started its second working day in Budapest on Tuesday morning. In accordance with the agenda, first the report on the economic policy scheme for 1990 was presented by Erno Kemenes, president of the National Planning Office.

Other items of the agenda expected to be discussed today include the proposal to reform the housing policy and the measures planned for 1990, and the bill connected to the 1990 measures, as well as the debate on the bill on the 1990 budget.

Government Economic Program Approved

LD1912130589 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1055 GMT 19 Dec 89

[Statement by National Assembly Acting Speaker Istvan Fodor at Hungarian National Assembly in Budapest—live]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] Esteemed National Assembly. It is now time to make a decision. As I pointed out in the introduction to the agenda point, we have to decide about the draft resolution formulated in report

No 453. Therefore, I ask the esteemed National Assembly whether it agrees with the draft resolution contained in report No 453. Please let us vote. [passage omitted] I announce that the National Assembly has adopted the draft resolution and, accordingly, the government's report on its 1990 economic policy program. [passage omitted]

Reportage on MSZMP Congress Session

Party Status Discussed

LD1812034789 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2100 GMT 17 Dec 89

[Excerpts] At the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] congress the election to the leading bodies is continuing at a closed session. Jozsef Orosz and Andras Domany sum up the events of the day so far:

[Domany] Yes, the closed session that was ordered two-and-a-half hours ago is still in progress. At times the sounds of a very lively debate can be heard from behind the closed doors, but the only thing certain for now is that at the head of the party there will be a chairman and he will have two deputies. At the same time they will bring into being the nine-member Secretariat, the 16-member party advisory body, as well as the ethical and financial control committee.

Only from the corridor conversations could it be learned that the 36-year-old Gyula Thumer has the best chance for the post of party chairman. Formerly he was Karoly Grosz's personal advisor. The former party general secretary himself heads the nominating committee.

As far as we know, opinions vary among the delegates as to whether the four initiators of the party's reorganization—Janos Berecz, Karoly Grosz, Frigyes Puja, and Robert Ribanszki—should get some kind of leading function. [passage omitted]

At his news conference, Karoly Grosz confirmed his party's intention to be willing to form an alliance with any left-wing movement of force. He stressed in particular that, with the Hungarian Socialist Party [MSZP], they strive not for a fratricidal war but for a joining of forces. At the same time, he repeated his opinion that the October congress in actual fact meant that one of the factions of the party left the membership in the lurch and split the party. [passage omitted]

[Announcer] Actually, participants of the various other parties and opposition movements were not invited to the MSZMP's 14th Congress. Karoly Grosz explained this by saying that this congress is, so to speak, a workshop consultation. Our staff member Miklos Martin-Kovacs, however, asked the representatives of the MDF [Hungarian Democratic Forum], the MSZP, and the FIDESZ [Federation of Young Democrats] for their opinion. First you hear Gyorgy Szabad, member of the MDF Presidium.

[Szabad] I have very little information about the organization of the MSZMP. I do, however, know enough to regard the MSZMP as the vanguard of the bankrupt power regime.

[Martin-Kovacs] The party's organizers in recent days voiced their personal opinion that they seek ties with left-wing allies; thus, in a given case, also with the forces within the MDF. What is your opinion about this?

[Szabad] I state with absolute conviction that the MDF does not wish to, and will not, form any kind of alliance or coalition with the MSZMP.

[Martin-Kovacs] Sandor Szili is a member of the MSZP Presidium. Do you continue to treat the MSZMP as a completely new party, or do you acknowledge that they are one of the successors of the one-time MSZMP?

[Szili] In my opinion it must be treated as a new party. At the congress [in October], which, I stress, I consider to have been a congress prepared in the most democratic manner and conducted in the most democratic manner.... [changes thought] So, from this point of view I do not understand the attacks.... So, there we unequivocally expressed our intention to create a renewed party, a new party, from the former MSZMP. Therefore, on this basis, if another party is formed with the same name as our predecessor party, then obviously we look on it as a new party. I do not believe that there will be sharp differences on the left wing and I do not believe that we shall have to fight against each other. But this does not yet mean that we shall form an alliance. To me, one of the important questions is how people disassociate themselves from the historic mistakes committed in the past. [passage omitted]

More on New Appointments

LD1812143189 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0700 GMT 18 Dec 89

[Text] The 14th Congress of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] has elected 36-year old Gyula Thurmer as its chairman. The politician earlier worked in the Foreign Ministry, then in the central party apparatus, and was Karoly Grosz's personal adviser. Tibor Koi, Sandor Nyiri, and Attila Pozsonyi have become the party's deputy chairmen.

Members of the MSZMP's 13-member Central Committee include Janos Berecz, Karoly Grosz, and Frigyes Puja. The MSZMP will hold the second round of its 14th congress in January. At the present meeting, there was no time to discuss and adopt the program.

Thurmer on Multiparty Cooperation

LD1812214189 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1830 GMT 18 Dec 89

[Text] After a marathon debate and a marathon voting session, Gyula Thurmer became the chairman of the

Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP]. Immediately after the Congress, which ended early this morning, he gave a statement to our staff member:

[Begin recording] The membership largely consists of the same people. Do you seriously believe that something entirely different can be done with exactly the same people?

[Thurmer] I think it can. After all, the overwhelming majority of our membership wants the renewal of socialism and is interested in that. I consider it natural that today and in the near future the MSZMP membership should, to a significant extent, consist of old people. On the one hand, it was they who set the party on its feet; and on the other hand, look, every political party builds on pensioners, and one quarter of Hungary's population are pensioners.

[Correspondent] You have several times alluded to the fact that there is now no one to represent the workers' interests. But have you asked these working strata whether they need the MSZMP?

[Thurmer] We did ask them. We met the people in very many places and everywhere we got the signal back that, yes, they do need a party that can represent their political interests.

One thing we are completely certain of by now—and the Congress has confirmed this—is that we would like to cooperate with the Hungarian Socialist Party. But I think that many kinds of possibilities for cooperation offer themselves with other parties as well.

[Correspondent] For instance?

[Thurmer] With the left-wing Social Democratic forces existing in Hungary, but also with very many left-wing thinking people, in the Hungarian Democratic Forum, in the People's Party, for example. [end recording]

Karpati Placed in Reserve at Own Request

LD1812211489 Budapest MTI in English 2042 GMT 18 Dec 89

[Text] Budapest, December 18 (MTI)—Matyas Szuros, interim president of the Republic of Hungary and commander-in-chief of the Armed Forces, has placed Colonel-General Ferenc Karpati, minister of defence, in military reserve at his own request.

The decision, which followed the separation of the Ministry of Defence and the Hungarian People's Army Headquarters, in no way affects the minister's post in the government.

Walesa Lays Wreath on Sakharov's Grave

LD1812204789 Warsaw PAP in English 1820 GMT 18 Dec 89

[Text] Moscow, Dec 18—"We are terribly late and that is why we are unhappy. The weather brought us an unpleasant surprise. We will see what comes next," Walesa told PAP correspondent upon arriving by plane in Moscow, after a stopover in Leningrad caused by bad weather.

Straight from the airport, Walesa headed for the Vostryakovski Cemetery where he was greeted by Oleg Brumel, the chairman of the newly formed Democratic Party. Walesa and entourage walked to the flower-covered grave of Andrey Sakharov. Walesa laid a white-and-red wreath shaped as the letter "V" reading "To a Great Russian, to a great defender of human rights—Solidarnosc."

Eulogizes Sakharov

LD1912015989 Warsaw PAP in English 2332 GMT 18 Dec 89

[Text] Moscow, Dec 18—Bad weather conditions prevented Solidarity leader Lech Walesa from arriving on time to attend Andrey Sakharov's funeral ceremonies in Moscow. He arrived here late in the evening when the funeral was already in progress. According to the will of Sakharov and his widow Yelena Bonner, the funeral was attended only by the family and his closest friends.

From the airport Lech Walesa went straight to the Vostryakovsky Cemetery in front of which he was greeted by head of the newly-formed Democratic Party Oleg Brumel. The Solidarity leader came to Sakharov's grave when others were dispersing. Walesa, accompanied by Adam Michnik and Edward Wende, laid a V-shaped wreath made of red and white flowers. The ribbon read: To a great Russian, to a great defender of human rights from the Solidarity chairman.

In the wake of the funeral, Walesa told PAP that he was upset because of his being late, and added that his first thought was that such a great man was buried at such an humble place.

"This is a loss for the reforms, a loss for perestroyka. At this moment, in this country he was the only one with such a great authority. I feel sorry, I waited for his invitation, for a meeting. I thought that we would do something together but he is gone. It is a great loss," Walesa said.

"I was standing at the grave of a man who was Russia's conscience, who was the conscience of Europe and who played a special role for people of my generation," said Adam Michnik who accompanied Walesa.

Meeting of Remembrance in Rossiya Hotel

In the evening, Lech Walesa attended a meeting of remembrance to Andrey Sakharov in the Rossiya Hotel here. Over 500 persons took part in the gathering, among them USSR people's deputies and mainly members of the Inter-Regional Group.

Lech Walesa conveyed his condolences to Sakharov's widow Yelena Bonner. Mrs Bonner thanked Lech Walesa with tears in his eyes for his coming to Moscow to the funeral.

Speaking on behalf of the Polish Solidarity, Lech Walesa said: "I wanted to come to your country in different circumstances. The fate, however, changed those plans. I met him once in Paris and I pinned great hopes on this outstanding man. The reform needed him badly, not only in your country but in entire Eastern Europe. For us, he was the conscience of your grand nation.

"It is a great pity that there is no Professor Sakharov anymore. Do replace him—such is the requirement of the moment. I wish you that we do not depart from this road, the road of perestroyka. Let us preserve Professor Sakharov in our memory as a precursor of this direction. The memory of him will never die," Walesa said.

Walesa also held numerous talks with people's deputies: Boris Yeltsin, Yuriy Afanasyev, Roald Sagdeyev, Galina Starovoytova and others. He also met with the only non-party minister in the Soviet cabinet Nikolay Vorontsov who is in charge of nature protection. The message from these talks is that perestroyka in the USSR backs reforms in Poland while reforms in Poland back perestroyka.

Poland's Ambassador to the USSR Stanislaw Ciosek was present at the meeting.

Soviet Soldiers Attack Taxi Driver in Goleniow

LD1812173289 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1615 GMT 18 Dec 89

[Text] The perpetrators of a brutal attack on a taxi driver in Goleniow were two soldiers of the Northern Group of Soviet Forces in Poland.

Gorbachev's Caution on Constitution Viewed

AU1812130989 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 13 Dec 89 p 4

[Michal Ksiezarczyk commentary: "Too Early?"]

[Text] Why does Gorbachev refuse to agree? Why does he continue to defend the constitutional article on the leading role of the Communist Party with such determination? Why are so many other USSR Peoples Deputies going so much further than Gorbachev in the process of democratic transformations?

Prevailing conditions in the Soviet Union are completely different from those in the other countries of Eastern Europe where communist parties are rapidly being erased from each country's constitutional provisions. Some 70 years of one-party rule—a party that took great pains not to allow any competition, and even now,

looking at the Soviet state as a whole, still has no competition—have produced particular results in the way people think.

Gorbachev knows this. He is also aware of the resistance on the part of the dogmatic apparatus. On the other hand, he understands that given the conditions in the Soviet Union it is the reformist wing of the CPSU that is the driving force behind perestroyka. He does not wish to weaken this wing with possible new areas of confrontation.

The Lithuanian Supreme Council has already changed the article on the leading role of the CPSU, and thereby has opened the way to a multiparty system. Similar moves are expected in Estonia and Latvia. The time for the Soviet Union will also come. Today, after 4 years of perestroyka, it has become clear that such things are still too early for the Soviet Union, and that the Soviet Union has not ripened sufficiently for such changes.

Sejm Resolution Protests Events in Romania

LD1912093489 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0826 GMT 19 Dec 89

[Resolution issued by Polish Sejm in Warsaw on 19 December—live; read by Sejm Speaker Mikolaj Kozakiewicz]

[Text] I am sorry for the delay in opening this meeting but we have just held a meeting of the Council of Elders of the Sejm in connection with the situation in Romania. In connection with this situation I would like to propose, on behalf of the council, the text of the following resolution:

Yesterday, in Romania, a tragedy occured. In Timisoara and several other localities of Western Romania, the Army and the police fired at participants of a defenseless demonstration. The number of victims is still unknown but there is no doubt that force was used by the authorities with exceptional brutality, even shooting at children.

In this situation the Sejm of the Polish People's Republic of fundamental human rights in Romania. On the basis of respect for human rights which are in force in the civilized world we call on the Romanian authorities to immediately halt the repressions against the people who demand respect for human rights. In view of the tragedy which has affected Romania we declare our solidarity with the victims of terror and express our sympathy for the families of victims, and we appeal to the international public opinion to condemn these acts of violence.

Please indicate who is in favor.

[Reporter] All the deputies are voting in favor. [applause]

Rakowski Receives Italian Communist Party Leaders

LD0712224789 Warsaw PAP in English 2253 GMT 7 Dec 89

[Text] Warsaw, Dec 7—Achille Occhetto, general secretary of the Italian Communist Party (PCI), accompanied by members of his party leadership Antonio Bassolino and Antonio Rubbi, arrived in Warsaw today.

The PCI leader's visit started with a meeting with the first secretary of the Polish United Workers' Party (PUWP) Mieczyslaw Rakowski during which both party leaders focused on Poland's social and political situation and both parties' preparations for their congresses.

Both leaders stressed the significance of this visit, the first one paid by a leader of the Italian communists in Poland in 18 years, for relations between their parties.

The PUWP and PCI have a similar stand on the Socialist International, one expressed in letters written by Mieczyslaw Rakowski to the presidium of the international and by Achille Occhetto to its chairman Willy Brandt.

The talks also showed the convergence of views of both secretaries on the role of left-wing movements and organizations in solving the problems of societies in both countries and in the building of the common European house.

Reykowski Leads PZPR Delegation to Israel

LD0612204289 Warsaw PAP in English 1857 GMT 6 Dec 89

[Text] Tel Aviv, Dec 6—A fact-finding delegation of the PUWP [Polish United Workers Party/PZPR] headed by Political Bureau member Janusz Reykowski, now in Israel at the invitation of the Israel Labour party, was received by Israel Gat, the Labour Party's secretary for international affairs.

The delegation next paid a visit to the General Federation of Labour in Israel (the Histadrut), the biggest trade union organization in the country and held talks on planning and socio-economic development issues tackled by the Histadrut.

Jaruzelski Receives Council of Europe Official

LD0712232889 Warsaw PAP in English 2059 GMT 7 Dec 89

[Text] Warsaw, Dec 7—Poland's President Wojciech Jaruzelski today received Anders Bjoerck, president of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe, who has been on an official visit to Poland at the invitation of Polish Parliament.

Jaruzelski underscored Poland's unchanging will to further actively and constructively participate in the CSCE

process, in developing pan-European cooperation and dialogue, and in building the unity of the European continent.

The Polish president also firmly stressed the permanence and inviolability of postwar borders as a precondition for mutual trust and stability in Europe.

Walesa Statement on Martial Law Anniversary

AU1812175789 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 14 Dec 89 p 1

[Unattributed article: "Lech Walesa: 13 December—Ideology Was Put Before the Welfare of Society"]

[Text] On 13 December 1981, the authorities at that time wrote down another dramatic date in our history by issuing a decree which imposed martial law. The answer to the question whether the Polish raison d'etat required such a decision must be left to the historians. However, no scholarly analysis is needed to see the absurdity of human sacrifices, the persecutions, the campaigns of vilification and humiliation, the cult of force, and the pacification of public life.

The date 13 December will remain a symbol where ideology was put before the welfare of society.

Today, the tragedy of the martial law period reminds one of a social need for political culture, pluralism, and tolerance. The dramatic experiences of those days cannot be repeated because, among other things, those experiences have made us wiser.

The memory of those wasted years casts a shadow on the joy of the moral victory of the "Solidarity" ideals, but there is no need to indulge in memories. The tragedy of the martial law period must not cast a shadow on the future, and the desire to settle old scores must not replace the desire for a prosperous and just Poland.

Lech Walesa, "Solidarity" chairman, Gdansk, 13 December 1989

More Unrest

AU1812190689 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 15 Dec 89 p 6

[Report signed '(kg)': "The Results of Pseudo-Peaceful Demonstrations"]

[Text] We have already reported on the aggressive demonstrations in several Polish cities in connection with the eighth anniversary of martial law. Today, we will show the sad and costly results of these events.

Katowice

Fortunately, the unrest whipped up in Katowice on Wednesday [13 December] by very young people under the "Fighting Solidarity" banner did not result in any victims, which it might easily have done in view of the fact that they used flammable liquid, large and heavy bolts, and stones, which they first threw at the windows of the PZPR [Polish United Workers Party] Voivodship Committee, and then at intervening militiamen.

A press spokesman for the Katowice Voivodship Internal Affairs Office said that a 17 year-old student was detained for questioning, but was later taken home.

The PZPR Voivodship Committee building suffered the greatest damage. About 140 window panes were smashed. The facade of the building was disfigured by a bombardment of cans of paint, which was difficult to remove. The doors were damaged by fire. "Fighting Solidarity" emblems, very dubious symbols, were to be seen along the entire route taken by the "demonstrators."

In an application for criminal proceedings filed with the Katowice Regional Prosecutor's Office, the PZPR Voivodship Committee claimed that it had incurred about Z10 million worth of damage.

Szczecin

As a result of hooligans' attacks on the peacekeeping forces in Szczecin, 46 militia officers were injured, of whom 3 were taken to hospital. Fifteen militia vehicles and a large quantity of militia equipment were damaged. Communal property such as benches, garbage cans, vases, and flowerbeds were damaged. Fourteen window panes of the PZPR Voivodship Committee building were smashed, and company name plates were torn down. Thirteen of the most aggressive participants were detained, 9 of whom were minors. Following questioning, they were all released. The minors were handed over to their parents. One family did not come to pick up its offspring, saying that "a hooligan like that can spend the night in the militia station."

Krak[illegible]

Following an attack on the Krakow PZPR Committee building by a group of vandals on Wednesday, several hundred window panes were smashed and a newspaper kiosk in the hall of the Committee building was burned. The damage is estimated at Z64 million. A press spokesman for the Krakow Voivodship Office for Internal Affairs said that 6 young people aged from 19 to 25 had been detained.

At its 11 December meeting, the Executive Committee of the Krakow PZPR Committee adopted the following resolution:

"The anti-Soviet rally organized by the 'Freedom and Peace' movement turned into hooligan excesses. The group of young people first insulted the PZPR, and then damaged buildings with blind aggression. Many people were in danger of their lives.

"We call on all party members, as well as all forces that really are in favor of democracy and pluralism, to condemn this act of violence. The government constantly declares its desire to establish a law-governed

state. Now we call on it to guarantee us, as citizens, security and normal conditions for political activity. This must be done, so that the Polish road to democracy does not become a road to anarchy."

Jerzy Hausner, secretary of the Krakow PZPR Committee, said that people inside the Committee building spent 40 terrifying minutes waiting for the peacekeeping forces to come. Many thought they came too late.

The 'Freedom and Peace' organization does not admit to having organized the second part of the rally, which ended in violence. However, there is no doubt that anyone who organizes any sort of gathering has to bear full responsibility for what happens during the gathering and after it.

Walesa's Call for 'Special Powers' Viewed

AU1812185889 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 16-17 Dec 89 p 1

[Jacek Moskwa commentary: "The Price of Democracy"]

[Text] Lech Walesa's 12 December statement has provoked a wave of discussion. It even surprised the government, which, one assumes, could have foreseen the following and similar scenario: The request for special powers in a situation where only 2 weeks are left for the adoption of basic economic laws. The pressure of time was also one of the factors involved in Walesa's dramatic call. The "Solidarity" leader—after his talks with the leaders of the West—knows better than most people that the international situation which has been so favorable for Poland has reached its zenith and will soon begin to wane. The queue of all the other countries clamoring for aid and hoping to attract foreign investment is growing lengthier, and Poland does not occupy a privileged place in this queue. The agreements with the IMF require swift and radical action.

Lech Walesa is also well known for his keen sense in reading public sentiment. These sentiments are currently oscillating between faith in the Mazowiecki government and increasing anxiety for the immediate future. Public debate may polarize these sentiments, but the course of the current parliamentary debates does not augur well for the future efficiency of the legislative process.

Giving special powers to the government can only be like giving it a crutch for the normal and democratic means that are required in the legislative process. The positive side of giving it such special powers is their immediate effectiveness, the negative side is the exclusion of the two legislative chambers from the responsibility for taking decisions about many issues which are of fundamental interest for the whole of society. Society will only accept extreme measures under the condition that these are essential and temporary. Such a course of action may prove to be more difficult, because it would mean that the government would become the sole guarantor of the success of its proposed policies.

The mixed reactions of the Sejm and Senate deputies to Walesa's call for special powers, show that many of the deputies—even those most critical of the government's reform package—would gladly shrug off the responsibility for taking unpopular decisions. Other deputies may ask, and not without some cause, whether there is no alternative way out other than to rush through drafts of crucial legislation before the clock strikes the proverbial twelfth hour.

This is not the only question which directly touches on the activity of the state authorities over the last few weeks. The debates in the Sejm show a wide divergences of views and positions, and clearly highlight the personal ambition to be seen displaying the maximum analytical thought. This is undoubtedly the price one pays for democracy. Nevertheless, this process has many drawbacks. The drawing out of the legislative debate is only one of these. The proceedings taking place before the eyes of the nation—transmitted by television and other media—show the ineffective debate which could easily transform itself into a "Sejmocracy." This aspect was criticized by Marshal of the Sejm Mikolaj Kozakiewicz, in an interview for RZECZPOSPOLITA, and the debate on the Amnesty Law is a good illustration of this.

The Sejm, and—surprise, surprise—the apparently politically homogenous Senate, are becoming the venues where the individual and the group openly manifest their particular views and choices, rather than being a forum where key decisions—based on the play of forces between the major political groupings—are made. This is tied to fact that the composition of the parliament reflects the agreements of the "roundtable," rather than any true political agreement or compromise, and today, this agreement is completely out of touch with the prevailing reality. The Sejm and the Senate deputies only feel a weak identification with the true political reality. From this fact stems the crisis of leadership in the various deputies' clubs. This crisis is especially evident in the Polish United Workers Party Deputies Club, the Polish Peasant Party "Rebirth" Deputies Club, and the Democratic Party Deputies Club. This element is also present in the Citizens Parliamentary Club, but to a much lesser extent. The alternative way for a Sejm that is limited to rubber-stamping decisions that are made elsewhere cannot be the provision of a public forum for some several hundred individual political party discussions. Democracy demands an effective parliament that is capable of decisive action. Such a parliament must also be fully responsible for the shape of the basic solutions proposed. It is essential that a formula which will make all this possible—especially in the economic sphere—is found soon. Let us hope that the debate which is about to begin, will bring such a solution.

Katopwice Solidarity Issues Statement to Jaruzelski

LD0412143489 Warsaw PAP in English
1110 GMT 4 Dec 89

[Text] Katowice, Dec 4—The Solidarnosc trade union local of the Wujek coal mine in Katowice issued a statement to Polish President Wojciech Jaruzelski. The text of the statement was handed over last night to the Polish press agency PAP. Following are excerpts:

In connection with the visit paid by you, Mr President, to our coal mine, we want to believe that it is an expression of your good will, and a manifestation of a striving to favourably complete the process of national agreement and to clarify all the aspects of the tragedy of December 16, 1981, in which, due to the use of force by militarized units, 9 of our brothers miners lost their lives and there were many wounded on both sides.

We expect, Mr President, an explanation of all the aspects of the tragedy for the good of Poland, of the entire nation and the idea of agreement. At the same time we are grateful to you, Mr President, that you have come here and paid homage to our brother miners fallen on December 16, 1981 during those tragic developments.

We express our thanks to you, Mr President, for the support you extended to political and economic reforms, and to the idea of national agreement, being one of their main initiator and creators.

We firmly distance ourselves from the irresponsible and simply provocative behaviour of members of the Confederation of Independent Poland who disturbed your visit to our mine and we express our regret. We state that these people have nothing in common with our trade union local of Solidarosc.

We express hope, Mr President, that you will be willing to meet members of our factory trade union organization at a time convenient to you and to us.

Geremek Rejects Solidarity-Communist Alliance

LD1812220789 Warsaw PAP in English
2126 GMT 18 Dec 89

[Text] Warsaw, Dec 18—Head of the Citizens' Parliamentary Floor Group (OKP) Bronislaw Geremek said in an interview for the "AVVENIRE" Italian Catholic daily that in spite of the fact that different political orientations did exist within Solidarity, he saw no danger of a split.

"What is more," he said, "there is no possibility to form an alliance between Solidarity's left wing and Communist Party's rightists."

Meanwhile, first secretary of the Polish United Workers' Party (PUWP) Central Committee Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski, who paid a visit to Italy last week, said last Thursday that the future party to be formed after the PUWP congress would be willing to cooperate with other forces including those derived from the Solidarity movement.

Party Spokesman on 'Deteriorating Public Order'

AU1812190889 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU
in Polish 14 Dec 89 p 6

[Statement issued by the spokesman of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers Party—date and place not given]

[Text] Poland's state of security and public order is deteriorating. The wave of common crime is rising, at the same time as which the effectiveness of the activity of state bodies to solve crimes is falling. Citizens, to whom crimes against life and limb, robberies, and burglaries are a menace, feel less secure. Speculation has assumed huge proportions.

Public opinion is enraged by street excesses. The aggressiveness of extremist milieus is growing. Public buildings are being set on fire, and public property is being destroyed. People who defend the law and order are being beaten and insulted with impunity. There are repeated acts of vandalism against monuments. These practices violate the honor and dignity of Poles, have a negative effect on relations with neighboring countries, and reduce our international prestige. These are attempts to make activity from a position of strength take the place of the law, and to disregard the elementary principles of political culture.

Another wave of unrest in penal establishments has caused death, a large number of injuries, and billions of zlotys worth of material damage. We have reason to say that this tragedy would not have occurred if the conduct of parliamentarians and the relevant state bodies had been guided by the law and by a rudimentary knowledge, stemming from centuries of experience, which teaches that impunity and unjustified promises must not be served together.

In view of this situation, affecting the vital interests of the whole of society, it is surprising that officers of the law are being attacked and that the Voluntary Civic Militia Reserve, which was an important social body dedicated to protecting the law and preventing wrongdoing, has been abolished.

The current situation, which violates the interests of society, requires effective government action and cooperation between all those forces that are concerned about respect of the law. We expect real and effective action that guarantees the implementation of Article 41 of the Constitution, dealing with the duty to protect the public order, the interests of the state, and the rights of citizens.

Gdansk, Krakow Army Regiments Disbanded

LD1812224589 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2200 GMT 18 Dec 89

[Text] In Gdansk, within the framework of restructuring the Polish Armed Forces, a territorial defense regiment has been disbanded. The soldiers have ceremoniously taken their leave of the unit's colors, which has been given to the Polish Armed Forces Museum. After 26 years of service, the Bartosz Glowacki territorial defense regiment in Krakow has also been disbanded.

Szczecin Military Training Classes Resume

LD0612043489 Szczecin Domestic Service in Polish 1600 GMT 5 Dec 89

[Text] In accordance with the rector's recommendation military training classes have today resumed at the Szczecin Technical University. So far, due to the NZS (Independent Students' Union) activists' protests, military training for 4th-year students has not been held. However, it is not known whether boycotting students will recognize the decision of the university authorities. Some of the NZS activists grouped around the so-called Krakow group are still insisting on the continuation of the protest. Military training at other Szczecin higher education establishments is continuing without obstacles.

Policemen Form Unions in Gdansk, Szczecin

LD0712031789 Warsaw PAP in English 2243 GMT 6 Dec 89

[Text] Gdansk, Dec 6—The founding committee of the Independent Police Union which has been active in Gdansk since mid-November announced a protest action for Dec 7.

The main reason for the protest is that the committee has not been given an answer by the Interior Ministry as to its postulates concerning depoliticizing of the service, reorganizing of the ministry and the right to organize in trade unions.

In another development, an 18-strong founding group working commission was set up at the Szczecin Voivodship Office of Internal Affairs with a view to forming an independent self-governing union of functionaries and civil employees of the Interior Ministry.

Today the commission held a press conference Szczecin to inform newsmen on the goals and assumptions of the activity of the future union. It is expected to protect Interior Ministry employees against discriminating slanders, defend their social rights and make their work independent from political trends.

The group was set up and has been working to the consent of the command of the Szczecin Voivodship Office for Internal Affairs.

AFP Report

AU1412171789 Paris AFP in English 1622 GMT 14 Dec 89

[Text] Warsaw, Dec 14 (AFP)—Poland's communist Interior Minister Czeslaw Kiszczak has recommended that police and interior ministry officials be allowed to form their own free trade unions, informed sources said Thursday.

General Kiszczak has asked non-communist Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki to change trade union legislation to authorise the police to form independent self-managed unions, the sources said.

Gen Kiszczak called on police officials not to impede the creation of committees such as have been formed by police staff at Gdansk, Gdynia, Katowice, Czestochowa, Szczecin and other Polish cities, with a view to setting up a union.

Delegates from the various committees are due to meet Sunday at Ursus, near Warsaw, to form a national founding committee.

Spokesmen for the police committees have demanded the "depoliticisation" of the police and called on Interior Ministry officials to respect "constitutional legality ensuring democracy".

They are hoping to regain the confidence of the population by distancing themselves from the detested political police (SB).

Police spokesmen have declared their "support" and "fidelity" to Mr Mazowiecki, noting that many of their members have resigned from the Polish United Workers (communist) party.

A free trade union was formed by members of the police during the period in 1980-81 when the independent union Solidarity was legal, but was dissolved and banned when General Wojciech Jaruzelski imposed a state of emergency in December 1981.

Police unions have been illegal since then.

Labor Veterans Form Union Based in Warsaw

LD0612210989 Warsaw PAP in English 1717 GMT 5 Dec 89

[Text] Warsaw Dec 5—The voivodship court registered here on Tuesday an independent national trade union—Solidarity of Labour Veterans, based in Warsaw.

"Our union emerged as a result of transformation of the National Union of Labour Veterans which existed till 1984 and was a continuator of the movement of defenders of old people's rights, chairman of the founding committee Wlodzimierz Sawa-Boryslawski told PAP.

"Our main goal is to lead to a new law on pensions liquidating the absurdities of its predecessor under

which pensions from before 1982 exceeding the average pay were subject to a limited revalorization. Those pensioners now receive slightly above 50 per cent of the average national pay," he said.

Head of Labor Party Interviewed on Party

AU1212213989 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 9-10 Dec 89 p 3

[Interview with Wladyslaw Sila-Nowicki, chairman of the Provisional Main Board of the Labor Party, by Andrzej Sandomierski; date and place not given: "A Congress of Christian Democrats"]

[Text] [Sandomierski] The Labor Party [Stronnictwo Pracy, SP] was suspended in July 1946 by its own leadership because it was impossible to function under the Stalinist model of Polish political life. Now the SP is returning to Poland's political landscape—where it has never been absent.

[Sila-Nowicki] Yes, we are returning, and we want to build a Poland with those who believe that work is the main component of social ethics.

[Sandomierski] After a break of over 40 years, the SP congress will no doubt be dominated by a programmatic debate, because the party needs an up-to-date program if it wants to attract people with various orientations to joint its ranks and build a common statehood.

[Sila-Nowicki] There is no doubt that programmatic issues will dominate, but a debate on these issues is not the only reason for convening a congress. One has to remember that after so many years of non-existence, most of our former members, to say nothing of the authorities of that time, are no longer alive. Therefore it is necessary to base ourselves on Christian Socialist ideals, which enjoy a long tradition, and to build from scratch on the basis of the SP that was formed in 1937 following its incorporation of the National Workers Party.

However, that is not the only purpose of the congress. The congress is also meant to take a stance on the current political situation.

[Sandomierski] How many members do you have?

[Sila-Nowicki] Right now, about 1,000, all of whom have been invited to the congress. We feel they should meet each other, hold talks, and exist as a larger collective.

[Sandomierski] Do you think the SP will adopt a formal political or programmatic stance after the congress and delineate its separate identity from other groups?

[Sila-Nowicki] The congress may help bring this about. The exchange of thoughts will permit a greater identification with our objectives. We should also emerge from this debate as a stronger organization.

[Sandomierski] Does the SP consider itself still in the opposition?

[Sila-Nowicki] Right now, it would be dangerous for Poland if the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR], having given up power under pressure of various events, were to be replaced by another monopoly party. It would also be dangerous if the PZPR failed to establish for itself a monopoly as an opposition party. There is no opposition in Poland today, it has disappeared! We are witnessing a curious phenomenon where everyone supports the government; formally, at any rate.

[Sandomierski] Therefore the SP also does not consider itself an opposition party?

[Sila-Nowicki] One can say that it holds an oppositionist view only partially. In principle, we support Premier Mazowiecki's government, but we are a long way from supporting every single one of its proposals and viewing it without criticism.

[Sandomierski] What is it you do not like about this government, for example?

[Sila-Nowicki] We do not like the way it places economic matters before human rights, and the fact that it only consists of people from a certain milieu. But it is a human characteristic for everyone to want to keep hold of power.

[Sandomierski] Does the SP realize that it has greater chances of winning an election if it enters into a coalition with other groups? Which of them do you consider the most important?

[Sila-Nowicki] First of all, stances must be separated from each other, not just the stance of the left wing, but also that of the center, to which the SP, with its long traditions, belongs. The SP considers it its task to establish a link between various political groups in Poland, for it seems that the political and economic situation requires cooperation between representatives of all political groups.

[Sandomierski] Which existing group would be the best partner for the SP?

[Sila-Nowicki] The Christian-National Union, because it bases its programmatic thinking on the social teachings of the church, even though it is further to the right than we are. Our stance strongly highlights the position of the state and the need to inculcate a feeling of statehood among Poles and build real political pluralism. People in Poland have generally lost their feeling of statehood over the past decades. We want to change that. We are emphasizing this intention very strongly. We are a party of Christian democracy, and one can see how countries where the ruling party is a strong Christian-Democratic one are in a better economic situation. It is not one of the SP's objectives to assume absolute power, but we do want to make sociopolitical relationships in Poland more democratic, help run the state, consolidate the values of work, and, I repeat, help implement in a firmly democratic way the principles of Christian morality in political life.

Labor Party Holds Assembly 10 Dec

LD1112130189 Warsaw PAP in English 1939 GMT 10 Dec 89

[Text] Warsaw, Dec 10—Following mass in St. Cross Church in Warsaw, several hundred activists of the Christian-Democratic Labour Party [SP] yesterday held an assembly.

During working discussions, inaugurated by SP Chairman Wladyslaw Sila-Nowicki, the participants pondered on the party's program being prepared for its congress to take place next spring.

The Labour Party has been revived following 43 years of suspension of its activities. Full democracy and pluralism are priorities in the political part of the SP program. It was pointed out that there still is a threat of political monopoly resurfacing. The Labour Party declares a centrist character. It intends to cooperate with groupings of similar ideologies. At the same time it does not want to hamper the development of other political mainstreams.

The ideological message of the program of the Labour Party stems from the social science of the church—in the spirit of justice, tolerance, and mutual assistance. The debates were permeated by patriotic and freedom accents. Reference was made to the history of Poland and the Labour Party.

Economic matters ranked prominently in the discussions. The participants spoke about the need to reprivatize state property. They however pointed to the growing buy-out of state property by the "nomenklatura" and the threats looming behind an excessive dependence upon foreign capital. Some pointed to the threat of unemployment, postulating that the government already now take steps to prevent this. There was also mention of the need to maintain an effective system of social insurance.

The participants made a political declaration and tackled a package of resolutions and appeals, among them on the German issue, assistance to Poles in the Soviet Union and the future shape of the cooperative sector.

The assembly sent cables to the pope, Poland's primate, and the presidents of the Christian-Democratic International and European Christian-Democratic Union. Premier Mazowiecki and the leaders of ideologically-kin parties from other countries sent in cables with best wishes while the heads of the PSL Polish Peasant Party, the Christian-National Union, the Union of Real Policy and other befriended groupings addressed the assembly.

Among the foreign guests who addressed the assembly were General Secretary of the European Christian-Democratic Union Thomas Jansen, Vice General Secretary of the Christian-Democratic International Brian Palmer and Christian-Democratic representatives from Spain, the Netherlands, and Italy.

DP CC Adds 2 Presidium Members

LD0712000189 Warsaw PAP in English 2136 GMT 6 Dec 89

[Text] Warsaw, Dec 6—The Polish Democratic Party (DP) Central Committee discussed today the current economic situation in the country.

The meeting also resolved to expand the composition of the DP Central Committee Presidium by two new members, Vice-Premier Jan Janowski and Minister of Home Market Aleksander Mackiewicz.

The plenum adopted a resolution containing the party's stance on the economic situation of the country. The document says that the implementation of the economy stabilization programme requires, among other things, the working out of solutions indispensable to curb hyperinflation.

SD Presidium Calls for Swifter Changes

LD0612164989 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0500 GMT 6 Dec 89

[Text] The Democratic Party [SD] Central Committee Presidium has expressed the need to accelerate the recently slowed pace of political changes in Poland. In some areas the partial solutions accepted at the roundtable talks no longer suffice. An urgent assumption of decisive measures for the liquidation of the nomenklatura in the economic and cultural sphere, in particular in the so-called regions, as well as the employment of competent people in the foreign service, is imperative. The further maintenance of the unimpaired Polish United Workers Party monopoly in the mass media centers in the majority of the voivodships is unacceptable, the SD Central committee Presidium stated.

New 'Young National-Liberal Movement' Meets

LD0512030589 Warsaw PAP in English 1826 GMT 4 Dec 89

[Text] Lodz, Dec 4—A new political grouping calling itself "Young National-Liberation Movement" held an inaugural meeting here on Monday.

"We strive for creating a platform for political cooperation of rightist and centre-right forces in this country as the only real alternative to the rule of the left whose policy ruins the historic chance to avoid civilizational degradation of the polish nation and state," the founding members say in their ideological declaration.

Jaroslaw Szymanski is chairman of the organization's provisional leadership.

National Party Central Committee Meets

LD1512224489 Warsaw PAP in English 2055 GMT 15 Dec 89

[Text] Warsaw, Dec 15—The first, after 50 years, meeting of the National Party's Central Committee, chaired by Adam Krajewski, was held today to discuss current political and economic situation in Poland and Europe.

The meeting confirmed the existence of German threat to Poland, approving of the stand by the Democratic Party's main board of December 8, the National Party's press spokesman said.

The National Party also resolved to join the elections of self-government bodies throughout Poland.

Further on Timisoara Demonstration, Crackdown

Tokes Disappears; Warning Published

AU1812122789 Paris AFP in English 1112 GMT 18 Dec 89

[Excerpts] Budapest, Dec 18 (AFP)—Troops surrounded a Romanian town on Monday after thousands of pro-reform demonstrators fought pitched battles with police, leaving scores injured, travellers returning from Romania told Hungarian radio. It was the first mass protest reported in Romania, the East bloc's last remaining bastion of totalitarian rule, in the two months since old guard communist regimes in East Germany, Czechoslovakia and Bulgaria have crumbled.

Soldiers with fixed bayonets charged some 5,000 people in the northern town of Timisoara who were protesting against the repressive regime of President Nicolae Ceausescu, who has so far resisted the tide of reform sweeping Eastern Europe, reports said. Gunfire was heard, and tanks were seen on the streets. Protestors also took to the streets of Arad, a town near the Hungarian border. Troops sealed off the area around Arad, reliable sources said. There were many arrests in both towns, according to the accounts reaching here, but no initial reports of deaths.

The demonstrators, mostly young people, shouted "down with Ceausescu" and "Romanians arise, freedom for all". They smashed shop windows, set cars ablaze and burned books written by the Romanian leader.

Mr. Ceausescu himself, apparently unmoved by the clashes, left as planned on Monday for a state visit to Iran.

Police used armoured vehicles and water cannons to quell the rioting in the Transylvanian town of Timisoara, near the Yugoslav border. The demonstration began Saturday [16 December] in protest of moves to exile a dissident Laszlo Tokes [minister of the Reformed Church], to another part of the country. The fate of Mr. Tokes, a champion of Romania's beleagured ethnic Hungarian minority, was unknown Monday [18 December]. He and his pregnant wife were said to have been beaten by police and dragged off to an unknown destination. He was attacked in church last month by four masked men who stabbed him and left him for dead.

Transylvania, home to a sizeable ethnic Hungarian community, has been rocked in recent weeks by a spate of demonstrations against the hardline Stalinist regime. Reports of Romanian persecution of ethnic Hungarians have strained relations with Hungary.

Travellers told Hungarian and Austrian television on Sunday that fighting had broken out Saturday between thousands of demonstrators and police in both Timisoara and Arad. The Hungarian newspaper MAGYAR NEMZET said sporadic protests had continued Sunday in Timisoara. A Czechoslovak traveller quoted by the official MTI news agency said tanks had blocked the streets of the town on Saturday and gunfire had been heard.

Romania's border with Hungary was closed to road traffic Monday but trains were still running between the two countries. [passage omitted]

Romanian authorities did not confirm the reports of the bloody protests in Timisoara and Arad. But an editorial in the state-run ROMANIA LIBERA newspaper Monday warned that "those who oppose or refuse to comply with a definitive decision by the country's judicial authorities were guilty of a serious violation of the law and should be punished with the greatest severity".

In Budapest, several opposition movements have called for a demonstration Monday night outside the Romanian Embassy. The Hungarian press blasted the Ceausescu regime Monday for brutally quelling the weekend protests. "Down with the dictatorship in Romania," said one headline.

In 1987, riots erupted in the Romanian town of Brasov when troops put down protests against severe food shortages created by Mr. Ceausescu's policy of using all available resources to repay Romania's foreign debt, even if it forced Romanians to go hungry.

300-400 Reported Dead

LD1912085589 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0600 GMT 19 Dec 89

[Text] [Announcer] Romania has virtually closed itself off from the outside world since the bloody events of Sunday [17 December]. Foreigners are forced to turn back at the border. The news agencies give contradictory reports on the situation. The only information available comes from those who travel out or what eyewitnesses to the events in Timisoara relate over the telephone. Byorgy Szelkai related his eyewitness account a little while ago here in the studio.

[Begin recording] [Szelkai] A young man came to the station at dawn today. He has relatives who are doctors in the hospital in Timisoara. He spoke with them at dawn.

[Announcer] What do you know about what is happening now in Timisoara?

[Szelkai] Well, if what he said is true, the fighting has again abated in Timisoara. It had flared up during the night, around 2200, and lasted until dawn. During the day there is a relative calm atmosphere

[Announcer] The latest information?

[Szelkai] The number of dead is 300 to 400, as opposed to the rumored 10 to 15 dead. Hundreds of people are lying in the hospitals with terrible wounds—with gunshot wounds, contusions, and injuries caused by tanks. I feel it is necessary to comment that during the first few

hours of the massacre, at the Central Command, ambulances were prohibited for 2 hours from going out in the streets. It also happened that doctors and passers-by were arrested because they provided first aid to those lying in the street.

We have concrete figures that the number of dead in one of the hospitals is over 250. I emphasize that these are only the dead who passed away in the hospital. Therefore, there is no precise figure on the dead in the streets.

[Announcer] You spoke to me about terrible events when you came into the studio.

[Szelkai] Yes, it happened that a soldier stabbed a bayonet into the belly of a pregnant mother in front of several eyewitnesses. They later were hit by machinegun fire. One of the soldiers supposedly was taken ill from the impact of the incident.

I also heard that the military shot into a group of 12- and 13-year-old children, after the children had seen the adults fleeing and had begun to shout, to chant in rhythm: you are cowardly, you are cowardly.

[Announcer] Was this a Magyar uprising?

[Szelkai] No, the man's relatives also emphasized that this was not a Magyar uprising. Altogether 20 percent of the dead—rather the injured and probably the dead—are Magyar; thus, two out of every 10; the others are Romanian. They are Romanians with relatives and, until now, with friends who were not Magyars. Yet it appears they joined the others out of solidarity. I also consider it important to add that it is unequivocally an antidictator, and anti-Ceausescu uprising. Ceausescu books are being burned.

Many university students and college students are participating. It is known that the number of university and college students participating is about 15,000 to 18,000. In addition, workers are represented in considerable and growing numbers. [end recording]

[Announcer] We have received news just this minute that there is shooting again in Timisoara.

Travelers Say 'Hundreds' Dead, Wounded

AU1912154989 Paris AFP in English 1430 GMT 19 Dec 89

[Text] Vatin, Yugoslavia, Dec 19 (AFP)—Though details were still sketchy on the anti-government riots this weekend in Romania, fear was evident on the faces of travellers arriving here, who said they had witnessed brutal repression that left hundreds dead and wounded.

Many were foreign students. They spoke on the strict understanding that their names not be used, saying they feared consequences from the powerful and dreaded Romanian political police when they went back after Christmas holidays.

Some put the death toll as high as 2,000, though there was no way to verify this since Romania has closed its borders and the city of Timisoara, near the borders with Hungary and Yugoslavia, reportedly remains encircled by the Army after the three-day protest.

Two Syrian students said they had seen at least 1,000 dead bodies in the morgue of Timisoara Hospital where they work as interns.

A Yugoslav from Vrsac, who boosts his income by making black market deliveries between Romania and Yugoslavia at the end of each month, said he saw tanks plow into Timisoara, uprooting everything in their paths.

"It was a real Tiananmen Square," he said, referring to the Chinese Army crackdown on pro-democracy students in Beijing last June.

He said he saw "many wounded among the security forces". "The cops were falling, too," but he could not confirm seeing any demonstrators use guns.

Another Yugoslav, who said he was in Timisoara last weekend, said the police used clubs, tear gas and water cannons but still had great trouble trying to disperse the protesters.

He described the scene there Sunday as a "veritable people's revolt", in an interview with the Belgrade daily NOVOSTI.

"All the able-bodied residents of Timisoara, men, women, children took to the streets, parading silently. But this time, the demonstrators were met with tanks, soldiers armed for battles, and police anti-riot squads," he said.

When he saw this, he fled the city before it was encircled by the army.

Romania's borders are now closed to all but Soviet travellers, who pass through Romania to return home after shopping trips to Yugoslavia.

The Yugoslav news agency TANJUG said all travellers except diplomats, businessmen and foreign students enrolled in Romanian universities were being turned off trains crossing through Romania.

Attempts by journalists to cross the border into Romania have failed.

An AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE reporter was curtly told to "go back home, only Russians can get through", after two Romanian border guards—one armed with a Kalashnikov rifle with an Alsatian guard dog at his side—carried out a detailed inspection of the license plates on some 15 cars waiting to cross.

The Belgrade daily POLITIKA EKSPRES said the crossing at the Yugoslav border post of Srpska Crnja, which lies across from Timisoara, was closed now even to trailer trucks.

Eyewitness Account of Protests

LD1812013989 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 2045 GMT 18 Dec 89

[Excerpts] [Announcer] [Passage omitted] Alajos Chrudinak talks to eyewitnesses who have just arrived from Timisoara.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified speaker] People report having heard of police violence against Laszlo Tokes [minister of the Reformed Church] and his family, that they beat them; what is more, some have alleged that as a result, his wife had a miscarriage. We have not been able to confirm this information and we could not prove it because we did not get to Laszlo Tokes house. [passage omitted]

[Chrudinak] What were you feeling when you saw such a big crowd?

[Unidentified woman] I told my friend on the telephone that we are witnessing a historic moment.

[Chrudinak] And what did the crowd which was flooding along the road shout?

[Unidentified speaker] [Passage omitted] They were speaking only in Romanian and shouted "Libertate, libertate, libertate!..." four, five, six times; they shouted it one after the other, and thumped on the side of the streetcars for emphasis. Then came a speaker, who stood on the streetcar's footplate to have his say. He listed the countries, saying look around you, in the neighboring countries by now, everywhere, in Hungary, in Czechoslovakia, in Poland, there has been change. Open your eyes and...and...

[Chrudinak, interrupting] What was he inciting against?

[Unidentified speaker] Against the dictatorship, and the downfall of Ceausescu. [passage omitted] There were also pregnant women in the crowd who were pointing at their stomachs as they shouted to the soldiers: Shoot here; kill them now, because once they are born we will not be able to feed them anyway.

[Chrudinak] It is understandable that you wish to remain anonymous. When did you arrive in Timisoara?

[Unidentified speaker] I arrived in Timisoara Sunday [17 December] morning. [passage omitted] I met a huge crowd, heated in mood, shouting enthusiastically and proceeding from the town hall to the country council house. Later I learned that Laszlo Tokes was still able to hold a religious service on Sunday morning. He managed it by slipping into his church between 4, 5 o'clock in the morning, before the minister who was to replace him arrived, and he sat there until later that morning so that he might be able to hold the service.

This was Sunday morning. During the night on Saturday [16 December], there were already serious clashes between the faithful surrounding his house and the law enforcers, who wanted at all costs to insult them. Uniformed soldiers and police with shields and helmets clashed with the faithful. This went on throughout the night. They drove into the crowd several times with their vehicles and each time took away 10 to 15 people. In spite of this they were unable to enter Tokes' house. That is what the neighbors say. [passage omitted]

What was terrible were the faces I saw as I sat in the car, those pale, greenish, frightened, alarmed faces of people who were probably tired out from the local conflicts which took place throughout the night, who were in dispair. All in all, these people were prepared to die, because we know that these settlings of accounts do not generally have a humane ending. [passage omitted]

It was around half past two on Sunday afternoon when I got lost in the narrow streets and accidentally found myself near the Church of St. Mary's where the police cordon was still standing. It can be presumed that Laszlo Tokes was still at home around half past two, because the police were still very much present, and they were guarding him well. There was still a huge crowd around the house. [passage omitted]

[Unidentified woman] I spoke to someone in Romania, and I also heard that the family does not know where Laszlo Tokes and his wife are. Between Saturday and Sunday, during the night, they took them out of their apartment and no one knows where they are.

[Chrudinak] Who took them from the apartment? Did they take his wife and child?

[Voice] His child is now with its grandmother in Cluj.

[Chrudinak] And his wife?

[Voice] His wife, together with Laszlo Tokes, were taken away. It is not known where either of them are. [passage omitted] [end recording]

More Eyewitness Reports

LD1812192589 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1830 GMT 18 Dec 89

[Text] There were demonstrations and serious clashes in Timisoara and Arad over the weekend. In the wake of these incidents, there were obstacles to Hungarian-Romanian border traffic. Anna Juranyi attempted to find out what was going on at the border:

[Begin Juranyi recording] At the Gyulavari border crossing, traffic is completely paralyzed. At Nagylak, the Romanians are delaying crossings. Those who, nevertheless, arrive at Nagylak from the direction of Timisoara are upset, struggle to keep from crying, and they do not speak willingly.

Three young people from Budapest reported to the border guards about the most recent horrors last night. They arrived from Timisoara at dawn. They, too, were taken to the police station and were searched by the

police. One of them was beaten, his camera was smashed up, and they were forcefully expelled from Romania.

At the police station, they saw several people from Timisoara being hit with truncheons. There was shouting and shooting on the streets. "Wake up Romanians!" "Down with the Communists!" "Death to the dictator!" they heard. The rage of the people overturned tanks and beat up soldiers. According to a Western radio, a tank ran over a mother, together with her child. Dead people were seen on the streets of Timisoara by the two Romanian youths, who under the cloak of night, escaped to a Hungarian family by swimming across the Maros.

We heard the latest report in the evening hours, that entrances to all the towns of the Szekler region have been occupied by militiamen. There is a full combat alert from the Gyergyo Alps to Arad, we heard. Everywhere the cars can get through only between lines of tanks, and only after several identity checks. [end recording]

Further Report on Timisoara

LD1912125789 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 19 Dec 89

[Excerpts] [Announcer] Several eyewitnesses to the Romanian events have contacted us. Andras Siklos summarizes their information:

[Siklos] According to the claims of eyewitnesses who returned from Romania at dawn today, during the course of the weekend demonstrations, the crowd in Timisoara put the police on the run. After this, the army took over gaining complete control of the events. In one part of the town, the crowd managed to stop five tanks and remove the soldiers from the vehicles. Then they barricaded the street in front of and behind the tanks with trolley-cars.

After the soldiers had opened fire on the crowd in the center of Timisoara, they launched a manhunt in the town for participants in the demonstration. During the manhunt they went into every house where the demonstrators may have fled. According to eyewitnesses, there were cases where the demonstrators were shot dead in the houses where they were found. The manhunt lasted until dawn on Monday.

Yesterday in the Timisoara hospital, 50 people are said to have died, and they are treating 160 people injured from the weekend demonstrations. I emphasize, these are figures from just one hospital.

Those who have returned [to Hungary] continue to claim that only one in 10 of those participating in the demonstration were Hungarian, the rest were Romanian. Those coming home also denied the earlier report that Arad was under strict military guard. At the same time, they told us that because of contact with Laszlo Tokes, Eva (Zsimes), a teacher at the Hungarian Faculty in Cluj and Lajos Kantor, who works for the KORUNK periodical, have been under house arrest for a week.

[Announcer] A few minutes before 1100, we spoke to the colleague who managed to phone Timisoara this morning.

[Begin unidentified reporter recording] [Words indistinct] during the night, there was a real battlefield situation. Those who lived through World War II say that exactly the same kind of war conditions exist now as then. A state of emergency has not officially been declared, but the Romanian state defense units are conducting checks at every important point and they are demanding identification from passersbys and stopping cars. Only those with a very good reason can leave town. [end recording]

[Announcer] There is still no news of Laszlo Tokes. However, our colleague was told, as a supposition, that it should not be excluded that the demonstrators became the victims of a provocation, because the demonstration held for Laszlo Tokes was peaceful, some who were drunk joined this peaceful crowd. They were the ones who broke the store windows and started looting, and the military used this as an excuse to open fire. There are helicopters above the town, and it is quite certain that the clashes have left many dead, but it is not known how many.

More on Crackdown; Protests Sent

AU1912142989 Paris AFP in English 1311 GMT 19 Dec 89

[Excerpts] Budapest, Dec 19 (AFP)—Romania had tried to seal itself off from the rest of the world on Tuesday [December 19] after troops brutally crushed anti-government protests in Timisoara, but reports filtering out of the town said more shooting had been heard overnight. [passage omitted]

One Hungarian, whose parents are doctors in Timisoara, said 300 to 400 people had died and that to judge from their injuries troops used heavy weapons as well as guns and pistols. Witnesses on Monday spoke of 600 dead and some unconfirmed accounts went as high as 1,000.

Hungarian diplomats in Budapest said all the doctors in the region had been ordered to work after the first clashes on Saturday [December 16], which indicated heavy casualties.

Timisoara was under military control on Tuesday according to inhabitants of the Transylvanian town reached by telephone. [passage omitted] There had also been trouble in the border town of Curtici, where demonstrators had broken into the communist party premises and thrown portraits of Romania's strongman Nicolae Ceausescu into the street. [passage omitted]

Bulgarian television reported on Tuesday that the border with Bulgaria had also been sealed and spoke of Bulgarians trying to enter Romania by train being subjected to "brutal treatment" when they were turned back. Hungarian radio said Romania had also closed the border with Soviet Moldavia. [passage omitted]

AFP's correspondent in Bucharest said the Romanian official media had made no reference to Timisoara, or nearby Arad, where there had also been rioting, but the town was said not to have been placed under military control. The only allusion to the weekend's events was a first page article on the Communist Party daily SCINTEIA on Tuesday, which emphasised the need "to apply the laws firmly" and condemned "any deviation from the defence of the principle of legality".

Meanwhile more details about what happened were emerging on Tuesday. One Timisoara inhabitant said the demonstration against the deportation of Minister Tokes had started peacefully but troublemakers had arrived, broken shop windows and damaged houses, giving troops a pretext to intervene. Other witnesses quoted by Hungarian radio said demonstrators managed to stop five tanks and had erected road barriers and overturned trolley buses. Troops had launched a man hunt, raiding house by house to seek out demonstrators and, according to some unconfirmed reports, executing people they found inside. [passage omitted]

Witnesses said nine out of 10 demonstrators were Romanians, indicating more generalised discontent with the Ceausescu regime, not just that of the persecuted ethnic Hungarian minority. Two ethnic Hungarians were said to have been placed under house arrest because of their links with Minister Tokes, of whom there has been no news. They are a professor at the Hungarian faculty of the university of Cluj, Transylvania, Eva Sz Gyimes, and the editor of a Hungarian language periodical, Layos Kantor. [passage omitted]

In Geneva several Protestant churches sent a protest message to Romania's Prime Minister Constantin Dascalescu "to draw his attention" to the disappearance of the minister and his wife. The message was signed by the World Lutheran Federation, the World Council of Churches, the World Alliance of Reformed Churches and the Conference of European Churches.

The Swiss Government on Tuesday gave permission for anti-Ceausescu posters to go up around the country. Organisers said 3,000 posters had been printed, of which 400 would go up in Geneva and Lausanne and the rest would be offered to the 2,000 European towns and cities which are twinned with places in Romania.

Further Accounts; Appeals to Walesa

AU1912092589 Vienna Domestic Service in German 0600 GMT 19 Dec 89

[Karl Stipsicz report]

[Excerpts] Hungarian eyewitnesses arriving in Budapest from Romania yesterday evening [18 December] reported on what happened to them in Romania. [passage omitted]

[Begin unidentified eyewitness recording] When I left the car I heard people chanting, like on a soccer ground or in a stadium. Later, I also heard shots. They were certainly fired from machine guns—as a soldier, I recognize that. When I saw these terrible combat vehicles with their giant tires moving toward the square—four, one each from every street—I also fled. The city was sealed off and everybody had to show his identity card. Everything was carefully registered; and then military helicopters landed. [end recording] [passage omitted]

Antigovernment demonstrations have allegedly not been limited to Timisoara and Arad, but have also spread to Brasov. Opposition minister Laszlo Tokes, whose attempted deportation prompted the unrest in Timisoara, has appealed to the chairman of the Polish Solidarity Trade Union, Lech Walesa, for help in view of the action taken by Romanian authorities against him. This was reported by a spokesman for Lech Walesa yesterday.

Romania To Restrict Rail Passenger Traffic

LD1812203989 Budapest MTI in English 1907 GMT 18 Dec 89

[Text] Budapest, December 18 (MTI)—The General Directorate of Hungarian State Railways (MAV) received a telegram from the traffic manager of Romanian Railways on Monday afternoon saying that the relevant Romanian authorities have decided to introduce restrictions in international railways passenger traffic to take immediate effect and until further notice.

The limitation covers all forms of group travel and private visits to Romania, except travel on diplomatic, service or business errands.

The measure does not apply to transit passengers or foreign students in Romania.

Demonstrators Tortured; Ceausescu's Plane Loaded

AU1912083189 Hamburg DIE WELT in German 19 Dec 89 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Torture in the Prison Yard"]

[Text] Timisoara—In the prisons of Timisoara in western Romania arrested demonstrators are obviously being subjected to merciless treatment. Three Hungarian citizens arrested last Saturday [16 December] afternoon in front of the church of dissident priest Lazlo Tokes [Minister of the Reformed Church] reported serious mistreatment in the prison yard. "I heard terrible screams and pulled myself up on the wall of my cell in order to look through the window," one of the men reported. "In the yard several men were tied to tree trunks and soldiers beat them with iron poles, such as are used in construction work as reinforcements for steel concrete."

The eyewitnesses reported that they themselves had obviously been recognized as foreigners and had, therefore, deliberately been taken out of the peaceful crowd. However, as Hungarian citizens they had been treated, comparatively speaking, considerately. The security

forces seemed extremely nervous. The Hungarians were interrogated for 6 hours. One of them was slapped in the face when he repeatedly insisted that he did not know Father Tokes. Their car was practically taken apart. They were released around midnight.

In the meantime, eyewitnesses have reported from Bucharest that they saw that the "personal" airplane of state and party chief Ceausescu, together with two other planes, had been kept waiting with running engines all of Sunday and through Monday. For hours workers had loaded the planes with bulky boxes; one could also see big picture frames. Yesterday Ceausescu went on a state visit to Iran.

Ceausescu Pays Courtesy Call on Iranian President

AU1812195089 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1800 GMT 18 Dec 89

[Text] Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, paid a courtesy call on the president of the Islamic Republic of Iran, Ali Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani. The meeting, which preceded the beginning of official talks, took place in an atmosphere of warm friendship, mutual esteem and respect, which characterizes relations between the two countries and peoples.

Greeted by Rafsanjani

AU1812212489 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 2058 GMT 18 Dec 89

[Text] Teheran, (AGERPRES) 18/12/1989—Romania's President Nicolae Ceausescu arrived in Tehran on Monday, 18 December, for a friendly official visit upon the invitation of the president of the Islamic Republic of Iran, Ali Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani.

The new Romanian-Iranian summit is a highly important event in the chronicle of bilateral relations which have seen continual growth in the last few years on multiple planes. The Romanian president's visit in Iran evinces the two countries' willingness to cooperate ever closer both bilaterally and internationally, and to actively contribute to building a climate of peace, understanding and collaboration worldwide.

All these are reasons for which the Iranian public opinion welcomed with satisfaction the distinguished Romanian guest to Iran.

The arrival ceremony took place at Mehrabad Airport in Tehran which was adorned on the occasion with the state flags of Romania and Iran.

The presidential aircraft landed at 1:30.

On getting off the plane, President Nicolae Ceausescu was greeted with special cordiality by President Ali Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani who wished him a warm welcome to Iran.

President Nicolae Ceausescu introduced the Romanian officials accompanying him on the visit: Deputy Prime Minister Ion Radu; Foreign Minister Ion Stoian and others.

President Nicolae Ceausescu and President Ali Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani were invited to the official dais.

The national anthems of Romania and Iran were played.

A military guard presented arms.

President Nicolae Ceausescu and President Ali Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani reviewed the guard of honour lined up at the airport.

The Iranian officials come to the airport to welcome President Nicolae Ceausescu were introduced to him: Masud Roghani Zanjani [spelling of name as received], deputy prime minister and head of the plan and budget organization, 'Ali Akbar Velayati, minister of foreign affairs, and others.

Next the Romanian president was greeted by the heads of diplomatic missions accredited to Tehran.

Romania's ambassador to Tehran and Iran's ambassador to Bucharest attended.

In the airport's official hall the two presidents conducted a brief friendly talk marked by the joint wish to enrich ever more the content of the Romanian-Iranian cooperation on multiple planes, in the interests of both peoples, of the cause of peace and collaboration worldwide.

On getting out of the official hall, President Nicolae Ceausescu and President Ali Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani made brief statements for the press, in which they expressed their determination to develop the Romanian-Iranian collaboration still more, in accordance with the two countries' possibilities, with their industrial, scientific and cultural potential.

From the airport the motorcade with the two presidents made for the Saadabad Palace, the residence reserved for the distinguished Romanian guest.

In the streets of the capital city, many residents welcomed warmly the Romanian head of state.

At the residence, President Nicolae Ceausescu and President Ali Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani conversed in a cordial, friendly ambience.

Official Talks Begin

AU1812195989 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1800 GMT 18 Dec 89

[Text] Official talks between the President of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, and the president of the Islamic Republic of Iran, Ali Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani, began in Tehran today.

The talks are being attended for Romanian by Ion Radu, deputy prime minister of the government; Ion Stoian,

minister of foreign affairs; Constantin Mitea, counselor to the president of the Socialist Republic of Romania; and Ilie Cisu, our country's ambassador in Tehran.

Iran is being represented to the talks by Masoud Roghani Sanjani, vice chairman and chief of the plan and budget organization; Mohammad Hadi Nejad-Hoseinian, minister of heavy industries; 'Ali Akbar Velayati, minister of foreign affairs, and other officials.

President Ali Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani greeted with great warmth the official visit of friendship paid by President Nicolae Ceausescu to the Islamic Republic of Iran, emphasizing that this visit is telling proof of the positive relations of cooperation which have been established and are developing between the two countries and their peoples.

Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu expressed his appreciation for the invitation to visit Iran, for the warm hospitality he enjoyed upon his arrival, and emphasized that he views this as an expression of the sentiments harbored for each other by the peoples of the two countries.

At the same time, President Nicolae Ceausescu expressed his trust that the new summit dialogue, the talks that will take place on this occasion, and the understandings to be concluded will contribute to the further strengthening of Romanian-Iranian cooperation at the bilateral level and in the international arena.

With this conviction, President Nicolae Ceausescu and President Ali Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani exchanged extensive views on the stage and prospects of relations between Romania and Iran, and in connection with current aspects of the world political situation.

During the talks, the two sides emphasized the positive Romanian-Iranian relations, which are constantly developing on the basis of the principles of full equality of rights, respect for national independence and sovereignty, noninterference in domestic affairs, and mutual advantage.

Proceeding on the basis of the current economic potential of Romania and Iran and of the experience gained in jointly achieving certain industrial projects, the two sides assessed that possibilities exist to continue to expand and diversify economic cooperation, especially production sharing, in the area of oil, petrochemistry, machine-building, agriculture, and other areas of common interest.

President Nicolae Ceausescu and President Ali Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani decided that the members of the joint government commission, which is, at this moment, holding a session in Tehran, continue to examine during the visit available opportunities to intensify bilateral economic cooperation in keeping with what has been agreed upon.

Both sides expressed the conviction that the more vigorous development of relations between Romania and Iran at the political, economic, scientific-technical, and other levels is for the benefit and well-being of both countries and their people, for their independent socio-economic development, and for the general cause of progress and peace in the world.

The talks are taking place in an atmosphere of warm friendship and mutual understanding.

Official Dinner Held

AU1912084489 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0618 GMT 19 Dec 89

["Official Dinner"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] An official dinner in honour of President Nicolae Ceausescu of Romania was given, Monday 18 December, by the president of the Islamic Republic of Iran, Ali Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani.

The guests to the dinner included Ion Radu, deputy prime minister, Ion Stoian, foreign affairs minister, and the other officials accompanying the Romanian head of state on his visit to the Islamic Republic of Iran.

Attending were Hasan Habibi, first deputy prime minister, Masud Roqani-Zanjani, vice-president of the republic, 'Ali Akbar Velayati, foreign affairs minister, Mohammad Hadi Nejad-Hoseinian, minister for heavy industry, other Iranian officials.

The two state anthems were played.

During the dinner, the atmosphere of which was cordial, President Nicolae Ceausescu and President Ali Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani made speeches which were followed with keen interest and punctuated by applause.

Andrei Meets SFRY's Energy Secretary

AU1812190089 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1842 GMT 18 Dec 89

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 18/12/1989—Romanian Deputy Prime Minister Stefan Andrei met on 18 December with Stevan Santo, federal secretary for energy and industry of the SFR of Yugoslavia, chairman for his country of the Joint Romanian-Yugoslav Commission of Economic, Technical and Scientific Cooperation whose proceedings are taking place in Bucharest.

Questions were approached on the occasion related to the deepening of the industrial, technical and scientific cooperation between Romania and Yugoslavia, to the broadening of mutual goods exchanges.

SCINTEIA Assesses Vienna CSCE Meeting

AU1612185289 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1559 GMT 16 Dec 89

["Europe—The Imperative of Full Security Guaranteed For All the Peoples"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 16/12/1989—On December 16 daily SCINTEIA runs a dispatch from

Vienna to approach the proceedings of the two negotiating forums for strengthened security in Europe: between the states participant in the Warsaw Treaty and the NATO-member states, with regard to the conventional armed forces and arms on the one hand, and among all the 35 CSCE participant states, on the other. It reads inter alia: The current negotiations prove the ever wider understanding of the fact that a Europe of full security for all the peoples in the continent cannot be built but by diminishing and eliminating the existing factors of insecurity. The fact is unanimously acknowledged today that the so precarious balance established in decades along the spiral of arming must be replaced by real and stable balance which can only be provided by way of radically reducing the armed forces and arms in the European area. In this regard as well as in many others, Romania needed not to reconsider its stand on principle since for a long time it has spoken up consistently for the endorsement of effective disarmament measures in Europe. At a time when the very idea that in the CSCE process the aspects of disarmament need consideration was categorically rejected, Romania was one of the few countries insisting that the Helsinki Final Act should carry a distinct chapter concerning the military dimension of the European security. Persevering effort was required in order to help overcome the outdated conception that the questions of disarmament in Europe would be the exclusive attribute of two or more nuclear powers which invested themselves with the "right" to decide on the destiny of the continent. Time has proved to the full that "the issue of the issues" in Europe is to halt the arms race and to pass on to effective disarmament measures.

It is in this spirit that Romania has been paying special attention to diminishing the conventional armed forces and arms in Europe, through concrete proposals tabled early in the Vienna negotiations, through the entire activity carried out with a view to concluding an adequate accord.

That in spite of the lessons taught by history in the European area huge conventional arms piled up in addition to nuclear ones is a fact, representing a factor which gravely threatens peace in Europe and all over the world.

It has to be mentioned that in light of these facts Romania suggested since as early as 1982, that direct negotiations should start between the states participanting in the Warsaw Treaty and the NATO-member states. The fact is particularly important that negotiations with the participation of the 23 states are tightly related with the negotiations for new confidence-building measures, with the participation of all the states that signed the Helsinki Final Act, all the states in the continent being thus involved in this ample process.

No doubt, an encouraging element is that since the very outset consensus took shape on the need for considerable cuts in the armed forces and arms, setting out from the principle of ever higher stability and security through ever lower arming. Virtually, through the proposals made by Romania, and by other participant states, cuts of at least 50 percent from the current level are envisaged. Second, the cuts in the arms and the armed forces must be accompanied by corresponding cuts in the military spending. Supporting this point of view, Romania just as other countries, sets out not only from the practical effect of such a measure, which would relieve large material and human resources,

To be used for the benefit of economic and social development, but also from the fact that thus, the envisaged cuts are nonsense if the current levels continue to be earmarked from the budgets. There are different views as to the practical ways to diminish conventional arms. Romania, just like other participant states, considers that this can be achieved not only by physically liquidating arms and the respective equipment, but also through permanent modifications in some of them with a view to using them peacefully, that is the "reconversion" of the military production. Fine experience exists in this respect and it could be expanded.

Providing real military balance also presupposes considering all the types of arms existing in this geographic zone. True, according to the mandate agreed upon, the Vienna negotiations only cover the conventional arms. But the nuclear arms are also part of the facts of Europe. They are all the more threatening as the NATO circles openly express their attachment to the outdated "nuclear deterrence" doctrine as a long-run political orientation, and starting from this they envisage measures to modernize the nuclear arms which are not under the incidence of the accord concerning the intermediate-range missiles.

Participants continue to focus attention on a number of proposals, Romania's among them, aiming to develop the confidence-building measures agreed upon at the Stockholm conference. First envisaged is not only to ensure, as so far, mutual information on various military activities, but also to come to diminishing the intensity and amplitude of such activities.

Ceausescu Receives Credentials of Swedish Envoy

AU1512180889 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1745 GMT 15 Dec 89

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 12/15/1989—On December 15 President Nicolae Ceausescu of the Socialist Republic of Romania received Nils Goran Rosenberg, who presented his credentials as Sweden's ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to Romania.

On handing over the credentials, on behalf of King Carl XVI Gustaf of Sweden, and of the Swedish Government and people, Ambassador Nils Goran Rosenberg conveyed to President Nicolae Ceausescu and the Romanian Government and people salutes and best wishes.

President Nicolae Ceausescu thanked for the wishes addressed and, in turn, addressed salutes to the King of Sweden and the Swedish Government as well as best wishes of well-being and progress to the Swedish people.

Stressed in President Nicolae Ceausescu's address is the fact that Romania constantly places its relations with Sweden, as actually with all the states in the world, upon the principles of full equal rights, respect for national independence and sovereignty, noninterference in the domestic affairs and mutual advantage. Possibilities are considered to exist for the development of the Romanian-Swedish collaboration, for enhancement of the commercial exchanges, of the economic, technical and scientific cooperation, for strengthening the collaboration in the international plane with a view to promoting the policy of collaboration and peace in Europe and in the world.

President Nicolae Ceausescu wished the new ambassador success in carrying out the mission entrusted on him and assured him of the full support of the State Council, the government and himself.

Participating in the solemnity during which the credentials were presented and in the talks held on the occasion were Ion Stoian, minister of foreign affairs, and Dumitru Apostoiu, secretary to the president and of the State Council.

United Europe of Peace, Security Advocated

AU1512181089 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1726 GMT 15 Dec 89

["For a United Europe of Peace, Security and Collaboration"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 15/12/1989—Romania has worked consistently for the setting up of a lasting security system in Europe, for ample development of cooperation among all the states of the European continent while observing the social system in each country. The fact must be reminded that the idea of developing and implementing a lasting system of security and cooperation in Europe was first voiced in Bucharest and that throughout the interval which preceded the climax of the all-European reunion in the Finnish capital city, where the Helsinki Final Act was signed, Romania made a constant theoretical and practical contribution to the whole progress of the so-called CSCE process actively involved, promoting constructive ideas, initiatives and concrete actions meant to lead to a lasting security system in Europe, setting out from the facts of this continent and from the tragic lessons taught by its history, Romania has developed a highly renewing concept on this particularly important question of the international evolution.

According to Romania, European security must be based on a system of firm commitments on the part of all the states, supported and strengthened by concrete measures conducive to the elimination of force and of the threat of force from the international relations. Meanwhile Romania has incessantly cautioned over the fundamental part played by disarmament within the CSCE, the sole real, viable basis for European security. Just the same Romania spoke up for the removal of the European continent's division into different political-military and economic groupings, expressing the resolve to make its full contribution to the development of ample cooperation among all the states in the continent, to strengthening confidence and security, to building a united Europe with diverse social systems, philosophical and political conceptions, aspirations and traditions.

The importance attached by Romania to the problems of security and cooperation in Europe is set forth by the fact that there is no document issued by the RCP [Romanian Communist Party] and the Romanian state where references to the major aspects of the international life fail to include the CSCE process. The resolution of the Fourteenth Congress reiterates Romania's resolve to work further in order to develop the collaboration among all the European states in the spirit of the Helsinki documents and at the same time reasserts the idea of the imperative of a united Europe based on the unflinching observance of the different social systems, for a Europe of ample multilateral collaboration among independent, sovereign peoples which ensure their own development the way they wish, free from foreign interference. In Romania's view, this collaboration must lead not to weakening one country or another, but to the development and progress of each nation, to rapprochement among Europe's peoples through the development and strengthening of each nation, of each people.

Romania considers that attaining European unity can only be conceived as based on the firm observance of each state's sovereignty and independence, that the struggle for freedom is inseparably part of the struggle for disarmament. It considers that in this respect great responsibility is incumbent on the countries of Europe, where the largest nuclear, chemical and conventional arsenals stand. While calling the European peoples, all the peoples to work for the conclusion of a general accord on halting any nuclear tests for good and stopping the production of new nuclear arms, Romania sets out from the real danger posed by the very presence of these arms, from the unanimously accepted truth that a nuclear war would lead to the destruction of Europe as a whole, threatening the existence of the whole world, the very life on this planet.

Although the nuclear powers, the two big nuclear powers in the first place, bear the brunt of responsibility for the materialization of nuclear disarmament, Romania considers that the problem is so grave and concerns equally all the states of the world, that it cannot be solved by the two superpowers alone or by several nuclear-arm possessing states, since there is a need for peoples, the European peoples in the first place, to take greater responsibility before this vital imperative.

Romania considers that next year, when 45 years are celebrated since the end of World War II, particularly important for the consolidation of peace and collaboration, for strengthened confidence and ensured lasting peace in Europe and all over the world, is that a passage should be made to endorsing due measures with a view to solving all the problems still in want of solution. First of all a clear, unequivocal stand must be taken to condemn and write off all the accords concluded with Hitler's Germany, drawing all the practical conclusions with a view to invalidating of all the consequences of those accords and dictates. In this respect a passage is necessary to be made to negotiations among the states interested, with a view to concluding the peace treaties which have not been materialized yet, and to eradicate completely the consequences of the second world war. Romania considers that this must not lead to changes in Europe and that the existence of the two German states must continue as a fact of today's and tomorrow's Europe.

'Protectionism' Condemned at UN Geneva Meeting

AU1112125589 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0958 GMT 11 Dec 89

["Romanian Address to the Session of the Committee on the Development of Trade"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Geneva AGERPRES, 11/12/1989—Taking the floor during the proceedings in plenum of the 38th session of the Committee on the Development of Trade of the UN Economic Commission for Europe, the Romanian representative stressed that the evolution of interregional trade did not reflect, yet, the economic, industrial, technical, and scientific potential of the member countries. Likewise, a number of negative factors and tendencies are still manifest which brake the normal course of economic relations. In context, stress was laid on the more marked protectionism and commercial discriminations of the western industrialized states, and on the growing tendency of conditioning the development of trade on extra-economic terms. The Romanian representative emphasized the need to eliminate the obstacles to trade and renounce any economic and political conditions or pressure, highlighting the importance of covenanting tangible measures to promote the development of trade and economic, industrial, technical, scientific cooperation among the member countries on the basis of equality and mutual advantage.

Symposium Held on Human Rights Day 11 Dec

AU1112153889 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1402 GMT 11 Dec 89

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 11/12/1989—On the 20th anniversary of the declaration on social progress and development and the proclamation of the Human Rights Day, the Romanian Association for the United Nations (ANUROM), the Association of Romanian Youth and Students for the United Nations (ATSRNU) and the Association of International Law and International Relations organized a symposium in Bucharest on December 11, on Romania's position, President Nicolae Ceausescu's outlook on the economic and social development, on raising the material and spiritual living standard of the people, the steady expansion of the revolutionary worker democracy, and the whole people's active participation in governing the society.

The papers delivered emphasized the way how the fundamental human rights were observed in Romania, the RCP [Romanian Communist Party] and Romanian state's permanent preoccupation for the full assertion of human personality, for ensuring the equality of rights of all citizens of the country.

Romania's outlook was also presented on the promotion and observance of the fundamental rights of the peoples to live in peace, to choose by themselves the ways and forms of their political, economic and social development, free of any interference from the outside.

Ottorino Jannone, resident coordinator of the UN programs of activities in Romania, presented on the occasion the UN secretary-general's messages in connection with the two anniversaries.

The attendance included executives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, university teaching staff, researchers, lawyers, journalists.

Articles, Commentaries Note Human Rights Day

AU0912170789 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1438 GMT 9 Dec 89

["The Human Rights Day Marked in Romania"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 9/12/1989—In their 9 December issues the leading Romanian newspapers mark the human rights day in articles and commentaries which show that the adoption of the universal declaration of human rights by the UN General Assembly on 10 December 1948 was a powerful stimulus for the peoples everywhere in their fight for liberty and independence, for peace and a decent, prosperous life.

Sanctioning compulsory international norms of conduct with regard to human rights, "ROMANIA LIBERA" writes, this document was to provide for their translation into fact through the action of sovereign states and of peoples that are called upon to determine concrete ways and specific conditions for the application and observance of human rights. However, experience has proved that the mere proclamation and recognition of the principles apt to guarantee the achievement of basic human rights and liberties are not enough and remain dead letter as long as full equality of all citizens is not ensured and the domination of one class by another or of one nation by another is not eliminated. The paper further stresses that, given the present-day realities, Romania has consistently and constructively militated for the

urgent and efficient settlement of mankind's cardinal issues, which directly bears on the destinies of all peoples. The article further says: In Romania's opinion it is necessary to effectively guarantee the peoples' right to life and peace as a foremost right individual and collective, the right to work, education and professional training, to a free and decent existence as well as the right to take an active part in the political, economic, and social life. These rights find a materialization in all spheres of activity. Showing permanent care for man and taking the demand for the unhampered assertion of human personality as a basis, in Romania the human rights question is a centrepiece of the policy promoted by the RCP [Romanian Communist Party] and the Romanian state. The best telling expression of the way in which human rights have been effectively exercised is the fulfilment of the Romanian people's aspirations after liquidating the man's exploitation by man, making a superior material and spiritual civilization, abolishing the old policies of national hatemongering and ensuring fully equal rights to all citizens, whatever their nationality, and their effective participation in the purposeful building of their own future.

In its turn "SCINTEIA" notes: Following the renewing transformations in the last 25 years in particular, conditions have been provided for the full assertion of human rights, for the satisfaction of demands for the multilateral flourishing of human personality. The marked and harmonious growth of the national economy, the steady deepening of revolutionary worker democracy, the generalization of the norms of ethics and equity are as many realities which enable each citizen, irrespective of his extraction, to benefit by the right to work, to a proper house, to training, education and culture and to participation in the debate of the political and social problems of the country convinced that he is a real master of his own destiny. Furthermore, on an international plane Romania is for a broad collaboration, for the adoption of appropriate measures with a view to consistently observing human rights. Such a collaboration is all the more necessary as in many countries of the world, including industrially developed ones, serious failure in observing them can be noted.

The Bucharest newspapers are unanimous in assessing that, given the pending issues that gravely affect the people's material and spiritual living conditions, the anniversary of the human rights day acquires the significance of an imperious call on all states and peoples to make concerted efforts for the safeguarding of life and peace, for the triumph of the ideals of justice, freedom and independence.

SCINTEIA Recognizes SFRY's National Day

AU1512160489 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 29 Nov 89 p 5

[Excerpts] The date of 29 November recalls events of crucial importance in the history of the Yugoslav peoples. [passage omitted]

Today's anniversary is also an opportunity to recall the development of traditional relations of friendship and cooperation between Romania and Yugoslavia and between the peoples in the two neighborly socialist countries. These relations are based on the solid foundation of complete equality of rights and on the principles of noninterference in domestic affairs and mutual advantage.

Throughout the years, the strong development of Romanian-Yugoslav relations of friendship has been indissolubly linked to the meetings and the talks of the two countries' party and state leaders. The visits made by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu to the SFRY and the visits of the Yugoslav party and state leaders to our country led to agreements which opened up new prospects for the many-sided Romanian-Yugoslav cooperation, in the political, economic, technical, scientific, and cultural areas. Romania and Yugoslavia have also cooperated in the international arena and have worked toward stopping the arms race, for proceeding to disarmament, primarily nuclear disarmament, turning the Balkans into a zone of good neighborliness and many-sided cooperation, achieving security in Europe, and increasing the role of small and medium-size countries in the international arena. The continuous development of the favorable Romanian-Yugoslav relations are in fully in keeping with the interests of our peoples and with the general cause of socialism and peace.

SCINTEIA Notes Albanian National Day

AU1312194089 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 28 Nov 89 p 5

[Excerpts] On 29 November, the Albanian people celebrate the 45th anniversary of the liberation of their homeland and the victory of the people's revolution, a memorable event which crowned the heroic struggle of the patriots and of masses of the people, led by the communists, against the conquering forces of fascist Italy and Nazi Germany and it marked a historical turning point in the country's destinies. The 77th anniversary of the proclamation of Albania's national independence is also being celebrated these days. These two dates represent events with deep significance in the history of the Albanian people. [passage omitted]

The Romanian people follow with feelings of friendship the successes of the Albanian people in developing their homeland. Throughout history, relations of friendship have been established between the Romanian and the Albanian peoples and these relations have developed in the years of socialism on the basis of equality of rights, respect for independence, national sovereignty, noninterference in domestic affairs, and mutual advantage. The economic cooperation is also increasing and, in the past few years, the volume of material goods exchange has markedly increased. The agreement between the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania and the Government of the People's Socialist Republic of

Albania on economic, industrial, and technical cooperation and the protocol of the first joint commission for cooperation in this area have been signed this year, thus, new prospects have been opened up for exchanges between the two countries.

The development of Romanian-Albanian relations of friendship and cooperation is in the interest of the two peoples and, at the same time, it makes a contribution to the promotion of the cause of peace and understanding in the Balkans and in Europe.

Greetings Message Sent to Albania on National Day

AU1312200289 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 28 Nov 89 p 5

[Message from Romanian President Nicolae Ceausescu and Romanian Prime Minister Constantin Dascalescu, to Ramiz Alia, chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, and Adil Carcani, chairman of the Council of Ministers of Albania, on National Day]

[Text] To Ramiz Alia, chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, and to Adil Carcani, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, Tirana:

On the 45th jubilee anniversary of Albania's National Day, on behalf of the Romanian people, the State Council, the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania, and on our own behalf, we convey to you and to the friendly Albanian people warm greetings and best wishes for new successes in ensuring the socialist development of your country and in strengthening its independence and sovereignty.

We believe that the traditional relations of friendship and cooperation between Romania and Albania will continue to develop, for the benefit of our peoples and in the interest of the cause of peace, security, and understanding in the Balkans, in Europe, and in the world.

Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania

Constantin Dascalescu, prime minister of the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania

SCINTEIA on Polish, Hungarian Economy

AU1112112589

[Editorial Report] Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian on 15 November 1989, under the headline "From the Foreign Press" on page 5 carries two articles, one 700-word article quoting the British daily THE TIMES and a 200-word article quoting the Polish magazine GAZETA WYBORCZA on the deteriorating economic situation in Poland under the Solidarity-led government. The article quotes THE TIMES saying that, today Poland is a country where most absurd things happen, such as "recently smoked meat has been sent by plane from Spain for the banquet arranged in honor of Spanish King Juan Carlos, and this happened in a country where sugar and soap have disappeared from stores and the butter had to be sent back to the producers because it was too expensive to be bought." According to the quoted TIMES, the absurd nature of the situation in Poland is a result of the "transition between the two systems, from the planned economy to the market economy, in a moment of hyper-inflation, when the inflation rate in December is expected to exceed 900 percent." After relating some events in the daily life of the Polish people, standing in line, and not being able to afford going to a restaurant because "one would have to pay for an acceptable meal an amount that is equal to a surgeon's three month salary and a pensioner's half a year pension," the article note the fact that the Solidarity-led government canceled all subsidies for foodstuffs and the new government "so far has not succeeded in finding the right ways to assist the victims of the application of the market economy." According to the article, the continuously increasing prices led to political conflicts in 1970, 1976, and in 1980, but today, when the price of "milk, cheese, and gasoline, electricity, and public transportation" is increasing daily, the situation is much worse. For the current situation, the new Polish Government tries to put the blame on "the mistakes made by the 40 years of communist leadership." However, there are also rich people in Poland, according to the article and "there are already five Rolls-Royce automobiles in the county," but the rich people try to lead a sort of private life with "parties at home and not in restaurants" and by "setting up private elementary schools." The article forecasts "a cold, and dangerous season" for Poland because "in East Europe there is a banal truth that democracy cannot replace food."

The short GAZETA WYBORCZA article quoted by SCINTEIA mentions that "the Polish society is divided into a small group of very rich people and a large group of poor people" and "while the discrepancy between these two groups is increasing day by day," the article says that "it would be naive to think that one single financial operation could change the system."

The same SCINTEIA of 15 November, carries on its page 6 a 500-word article that quotes the Czechoslovak daily RUDE PRAVO condemning the "anti-communist attacks" and the way in which "in the name of restructuring some anti-socialist forces started to emerge" which "with assistance from the West, try to use an opportunity to direct a frontal attack against socialism." The article condemns the establishment of "a new model of socialism," like the ones in Poland and Hungary. The article notes that "without planned management of production and distribution of income, socialism is inconceivable" and it considers naive the idea according to which the current situation in these countries could be solved "by taking over the bourgeois methods of leading society."

Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian on 17 November on page 5 also carries two articles that criticize the current changes in certain socialist countries. The first 1000-word article entitled "Socialism Has Great Resources and Cannot Be Improved Though Capitalism" quotes an article that was published in the Soviet magazine ARGUMENTY I FAKTI, which includes an interview with CPSU Secretary Ligachev. After mentioning some achievements of the Soviet people in the past few years, Ligachev is quoted saying that "socialism cannot be modernized and the sore points of our economy cannot be healed by using the methods of capitalist economy" and he is also quoted rejecting the return to the private ownership saying that "socialist ownership has proved to be sufficiently efficient, when we observe its laws and renew its methods." He also is quoted saying that "I do not agree with those who say that private ownership and unemployment will not harm socialism." Ligachev is quoted speaking about production related issues, prices, and agricultural ownership, as well as the decree on alcohol ban which he says "was well received by people." In conclusion of his interview, Ligachev is quoted talking about "the role of the party and democracy" and saying that "socialist democracy can fully develop within the one-party system." He does not agree with those who say that democracy requires opposition, he says "I think that our party can represent the interests of all social strata."

SCINTEIA of 17 November, also carries a 500-word article quoting the Chinese magazine BEIJING REVIEW, on Western attempts to change political situation in socialist countries and on the "doctrine of 'peaceful evolution' promoted by Western countries." The article mentions "three of the practices used by Western countries to achieve the 'peaceful evolution'" such as "support for the 'elite' that share bourgeois-democratic ideas," the second is "the granting of economic and technological assistance as 'bait' to encourage socialist countries in implementing Western-model reforms," and the third one is "initiating joint ventures." The article condemns Western countries' attempts to influence mass media, trade unions, and various associations "in an effort to support the infiltration of 'peaceful evolution'" in socialist countries.

Militia Disperses Albanian Protestors in Pristina

AU1812185689 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 18 Dec 89

[Text] This evening, Albanian nationalists tried again to hold demonstrations in Pristina. In the city center a group of demonstrators shouted slogans: Kosovo—Republic. The demonstrators were dispersed by the militia.

Belgrade TU Plans General Strike 20 Dec

AU1812171789 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 18 Dec 89

[Text] Our aim is not to organize a strike, but to solve problems. This was said at a news conference organized by the Belgrade City Trade Union Council following the announcement of a general strike for the day after tomorrow [20 December].

The City Trade Union Council is organizing itself for the first time to take part in this kind of action involving 650,000 employed people. In this way, it wants to influence all responsible organs so that the existing economic situation can be changed.

The strike is scheduled to take place immediately before the SFRY Assembly delegates are supposed to decide on the measures which the Federal Executive Council is to propose. After the assembly session, the city trade union organization will review all the decisions adopted, and undertake further activities.

If the workers' demands are not met, it was warned, the strike will be continued outside factory premises. During the half hour strike, all vital services will operate in Belgrade.

Markovic Answers Questions on Economic Plan

LD1912032489 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0124 GMT 19 Dec 89

[Text] Belgrade, December 18 (TANJUG)—If any of the proposed economic laws from the package of measures which Premier Ante Markovic presented in Yugoslav parliament today do not get the support of parliament deputies, the government will ask that they be adopted as provisional measures.

Markovic said that the government has the support of the Yugoslav State Presidency for such a step.

Answering questions by deputies, Markovic said that the proposed legal solutions are so inter-connected that the removal of even one link from this chain would prevent the implementation of the economic reform and policy.

The package of laws should be adopted tomorrow evening following approval from all Yugoslav federal units.

The package includes, among other things, laws on social capital, on the financial reorganization, bankruptcy and liquidation of banks and firms, on salaries, on the federal budget for next year, and on the execution of the budget.

The government of the Republic of Serbia today withheld support for the federal government's program of economic reform.

At today's session, which was held only a few hours after the federal government presented its program, the Serbian government assessed that the program presupposes recession and crisis, which is evident from the projected drop in production and increased unemployment for next year.

The republican government assessed that the proposed measures envisage for a deteriorated position of agriculture, which should bear the brunt of bringing down inflation.

Measures of freezing the prices of some basic raw materials and salaries were not given support either. The Serbian government did not approve the federal government program also because it did not take into account the November inflation of 42 percent and the projected growth of prices in 1990, which might lead to social unrests.

In Zagreb, the Croatian government late this evening supported most of the proposed measures.

One of the open questions pertains to the proposed law on price control. The government and assembly of Croatia will discuss the program on Tuesday.

Prime Minister Markovic Interviewed on Reforms

PM1912160689 Paris LIBERATION in French 8 Dec 89 p 25

[Interview with Prime Minister Ante Markovic by "C. F.-M."—date and place not given; first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] When he went to Yugoslavia in the good old days of the Unified Socialist Party, Michel Rocard was visiting the country with the "self-management model." On Wednesday and Thursday [6 and 7 December], it was a country which is experiencing a serious economic crisis with an inflation rate of 2,500 percent to which the prime minister came to give his encouragement. "After being a stimulating example and being the first to reject the model of state centralism and the dictatorship of the proletariat, it would be regrettable if you remained outside the great move toward freedom which Europe is now experiencing," he told 64-year old Ante Markovic, his counterpart. In the interview which he granted to us, the Yugoslav prime minister bears witness to the obstacles which any democratization process encounters.

LIBERATION: What is your assessment of the changes in Eastern Europe?

Ante Markovic: We strongly support all the progressive changes. But I think that these countries will still have to go through a number of the processes which we experienced. That takes time. They are only at the beginning. These processes can be shortened or lengthened, as we did to them, but they cannot be avoided. But I do not think there is any need for competition in the sphere of change.

LIBERATION: What about the reunification of the two Germanys?

Ante Markovic: It is a matter for the Germans. I think that conditions are not yet right.

LIBERATION: Do you fear it?

Ante Markovic: That is a question which you should ask the French!

LIBERATION: Do you believe in the success of Gorbachev's policy?

Ante Markovic: We support Gorbachev and his reforms and we wish him a great deal of success, in the interests of the whole world.

LIBERATION: At a time when the East European countries are moving toward democratic reforms, should not Yugoslavia go further toward free elections, for instance?

Ante Markovic: Yugoslavia was the first of the socialist countries to have taken the path of democratic reforms. But it has not yet completed that process. I have always advocated what you call free elections. Without denying their importance, I am convinced that they are not a magic wand which will solve all the problems which exist in all the countries which are demanding them.

LIBERATION: Are you not afraid of being left behind to some extent after having been held up as an example?

Ante Markovic: We are not worried about either being neglected or not being neglected. If a proper assessment is made of the changes taking place in the socialist world, taking account of all that Yugoslavia has already done, it is still the country which is closest to achieving a real reform of its society.

LIBERATION: What do you expect from France and, more generally, from Europe?

Ante Markovic: We hope that Europe will show interest in Yugoslavia which is in Europe and has no intention of leaving it! Yugoslavia intends to carry out its reforms establishing a single Yugoslav market (abolishing borders between its federated states—LIBERATION editor's note). This is impossible outside the European and world market. The country has already lifted restrictions on 90 percent of its imports and has considerably increased its exports. It has succeeded in building up very large currency reserves, as never before. They amount to around $6 billion. All this has happened during a year in which Yugoslavia has not received a single dollar in foreign aid while paying $3.7 billion or $3.8 billion to its creditors every year. Having said that, France and all the Western countries stand to gain from encouraging and not hampering this integration.

LIBERATION: What is your reply to Michel Rocard who suggests to you less "political centralism" and more economic centralism?

Ante Markovic: That is exactly what we are doing. We will not be able to avoid political decentralization. It presupposes more economic liberalism but also a change in the state's role which should have more power in the monetary and fiscal spheres and in the sphere of foreign economic relations.

LIBERATION: Is nationalism not likely to hamper this whole process?

Ante Markovic: In the process which we have started, all forms of nationalism will have to face constraints. Without wishing to deny the character of our federation, we must nonetheless optimize relations between the federal state and the federated states.

Serbia Opposes Markovic Economic Proposals

AU1812213689 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 18 Dec 89

[Text] At its extraordinary session this evening, the Executive Council of Serbia did not support the measures of the Federal Executive Council's anti-inflation program. The Serbian Executive Council believes that the aims of the program are good, but the provisions do not ensure that it will be implemented.

The pay freeze which does not take into account the December inflation, and the freeze of the infrastructure prices—which is to say oil and oil products, electricity, post, telephone and telegraph, transportation, medicines, and products of ferrous and nonferrous metallurgy—will instigate social differences.

The anti-inflation program is also not supported because it has adopted a (?restrictive) approach. Production and employment will be considerably reduced. One of the shortcomings in the eyes of the Serbian Executive Council is also the abolition of selective credits to exports and farming from the primary money issue, and only a part of the interest payments is subsidized from the federal budget.

Ante Markovic's speech presented a well-designed program for bridling the inflation and changing over to an open market economy, Dragoje Zarkovic, member of the Presidium of the Provincial Committee of the League of Communists of Vojvodina, said.

To hit inflation with rigorous measures has been a Federal Executive Council step that has been long awaited, Djokica Jovanovic, vice president of the managing board of Nis Electronics Industry, said after the new package of federal government measures was announced in the SFRY Assembly.

The aims set in Ante Markovic's speech are indisputably good, Vojin Bjelica, governor of the Vojvodina National Bank, assessed. However, one could not understand some basic measures in the speech, which does not mean that they fail to be thoroughly worked out and that they fail to present the proper opportunities, Bjelica said.

Serbian LC Congress Session Continues

15 Dec Proceedings Noted

LD1612202189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2022 GMT 15 Dec 89

[Text] Belgrade, 15 Dec (TANJUG)—Political pluralism, Kosovo, the problems of the functioning of the federation, economic misfortunes, and attacks on the Serbian leadership from other environments dominated this afternoon's dynamic debate on the first day of the sitting of the 11th Serbian League of Communists [LC] Congress which was conducted in four thematic groups.

Among the numerous delegates who took turns on the platform, often repeating the already familiar refrains from major party meetings, perhaps the politically most delicate contribution to the discussion came from Tomislav Kresovic, who in the group for reform of the LC suggested that reconsideration should be given to the decision of the Sixth Plenum of the Serbian LC Central Committee in September 1966 on the expulsion from the party of Aleksandar Rankovic, "on the grounds that he developed Serbian chauvinism." He categorically called for the congress of Serbian Communists to take a stand on what he called the "rough behavior" of Petar Stambolic, Milos Minic, Dragoslav Markovic, and Tihomir Vlaskalic in the period from 1972 to 1981. In that period, he said, the republic experienced collapse with the 1974 Constitution, intellectuals were persecuted en masse, and these same leaders, he said, continued to maintain an opportunistic silence up to the counterrevolution in Kosovo in 1981.

Prvoslav Ralic, speaking in the group for reform of social activities, says fear of the Serbs is profitable political marketing behind which non-national regimes and the tottering individuals in them can conceal themselves. The Serbian nation loves and respects the Slovenes, their culture, and history, but it does not like either its own or their bureaucracy. Let us keep our national names, Ralic invited, but let us build bridges between us.

Assessing that Tito is not thought of sufficiently as historic personality, Ralic said that it is cynical to force people to think unambiguously about Tito as they once did. Tito is blamed and questioned so that 9 years after his death he is used to determine the everyday political relationship of forces which serve the interests of some and go against others. This new Titoization, playing the Antifascist Council for the National Liberation of Yugoslavia, Ralic said, is the most lucrative political invention for the break up of Yugoslavia.

The main task is the adoption of a new federal Constitution, stressed Radmila Andjelkovic in the group for reform of the political system. It must confirm that Yugoslavia is neither a temporary nor an accidental creation. Yugoslav society is essentially plural, and today pluralism is our need and orientation. Its rules and limits should be determined by the new constitution, but it is essential that no single party should be able to destroy Yugoslavia, noted Radmila Andjelkovic.

Miodrag Dragosavac, also in the group for the reform of the political system, described as incomprehensible the behavior of the leaderships of Slovenia and Croatia, which, according to him, follow the logic: The greater the agony of the Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo, the better for them. Basri Plana also considers that greater results would have been achieved in Kosovo if Albanian nationalism and separatism had not received support from Slovenia, Croatia, and from Bosnia-Hercegovina. Lending support to Albanian nationalism, Gani Jasri added, is in fact a defense of privileges.

Zoran Todorovic said that there is no need to fear parties, because, he considers, working people know what is best for them and value the working class character of the LC. Serbia does not agree with the introduction of consensus in the LC and is against assymetrical federalism, noted Ratomir Vico. Those who do not accept the fact that Serbia has become equal, he said, in the group for reform of the LC, must come to terms with this and say once and for all what they want for their own nation and for everyone in Yugoslavia.

In the group for economic reform, Jurij Bajec warned that it is high time, after the total chaos left by the Law on Associated Labor and inflation, for us to switch to a system of efficient business activity. The state must abandon its tutorial attitude toward the economy, he stressed, while Milos Jelisavljevic let it be known that we must abandon the illusion that reforms are possible while privileges remain untouched. For more than 2 decades we have been living in a distribution and not a development economy, considers Academician Kosta Mihajlovic. The main obstacles to a way out of the crisis are not in the economy, but in politics, added Ljubisa Igic.

The debate in the thematic groups was interrupted at about 1800 GMT, when the second plenary session of the 11th Congress of Serbian Communists began, at which the lists of candidates for the organs of the Serbian LC, the members of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] organs from the LC of Serbia and the delegates to the 14th extraordinary LCY congress were established.

Afterwards the discussions in the four thematic groups were resumed and are still going on.

Delegate Calls for FEC Resignation

LD1612222589 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1617 GMT 16 Dec 89

[Text] Belgrade, 16 December (TANJUG)—Delegates from Serbia in the SFRY Assembly should be sent word not to discuss on Monday the Federal Executive Council [FEC] program to request immediately the FEC's resignation because there has been quite enough waiting. This proposal was submitted today by Branislav Milosevic, participating in the work of the group for the reform of the economic system at the 11th Congress of the Serbian LC and was applauded by the delegates.

16 Dec Proceedings Noted

LD1612234889 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1531 GMT 16 Dec 89

[Text] Belgrade, 16 Dec (TANJUG)—Political pluralism was the "most disputed" issue in the course of the morning session on the second day of the 11th congress of Serbia's Communists who resumed their work in four thematic groups after a brief plenary session and voting earlier this morning.

The most dynamic atmosphere was in the group for the transformation of the League of Communists [LC] and statutory changes where Nedeljko Sipovac noted that the LC's monopoly has not yielded results, but this does not mean that some other party's monopoly should be established. In his opinion the right of political associations is one of the most fundamental democratic rights. The LC should accept competition on equal terms with all those forces that stand for a socialist program, national equality, and the assertion of civil freedoms and rights.

Dragomir Draskovic noted that the results of the opinion polls among the LC membership revealed that it did not favor a multiparty system, something that should be borne in mind. He thinks that a multiparty system is not to be Yugoslavia's fate since in his opinion it manifests its limitations all over the world.

A dose of polemics was injected by Tomislav Kresovic as he remarked that it had been precisely the LC, and not any sort of political opposition, that brought about national conflicts and social crisis. The League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] would do best to get rid of Bolshevik-style notions and become a modern party.

Kresovic stirred up a hail of protests by saying that "social-democrats, Communists, and even fascists" should take part in the parliamentary competition. The very mention of the word "fascists" provoked a number of delegates to react so vociferously that Kresovic made a brief break in his address. He resumed by saying that the Communists, while fighting their ideological adversaries and all regressive ideas and fascism, should "drag these forces onto the political stage" and unmask them. The LC however cannot adjudge what the absolute good is. This should be left to the parliament, working people, and citizens, he said.

Kresovic's notion that the divisions within the LC are the cause behind nationalism was denied by a number of delegates. At the same time their opinions split over whether the LC should voice at all its attitude toward a multiparty system. The majority was of the opinion that there was no need for that, whereas Dragoslav Grubor went so far as to say that everyone who favors a multiparty system should leave the LC.

The group for the reform of the political system also discussed pluralism and Peter Skundric said that the LC is still the sole political force capable of formulating the political ideas and programs that are acceptable to most people. The people, he added, do not want to swap the reform for a mere political upheaval whereby instead of Communist representatives of some sort of antisocialist coalition would seize power.

Political pluralism in the world nowadays, Skundric maintains, is something larger than just parties. The way it will take shape in Yugoslavia depends upon the development of democracy and the political will and needs of citizens, but no one can deny the LC the right to fight by democratic means for the socialist orientation of political alliances and organizations.

Vuk Krstic provoked the delegates in the group for the political system into protesting by addressing them with the words: "comrades, ladies, and gentlemen." He explained that he had visited the islands of Brioni and seen the privileges that "certain" people enjoy. Although he shares membership in the same party with such people he cannot be their comrade.

Radivoje Papovic demanded that the congress resolution should "adopt" the task according to which the Serbs and Montenegrins who had emigrated from the province should settle in Kosovo in an organized way and on a mass scale. Otherwise Yugoslavia will become Europe's Kosovo.

Slobodan Jovanovic maintains that every bureacracy which feels incompetent facing its own nation deploys an emergency solution—fear of Serbia.

The Albanian emigrees who live in Yugoslavia should be distributed among all parts of the country, Veljko Milatovic maintains. In his opinion this would reduce political strain and bring about a better understanding of the Kosovo problem.

Dragan Damjanovic of the group for reform of social services warned of "the emerging Maspok [Croat nationalist movement of 1971] forces on the Croat public scene."

Dusan Kanazir spoke in favor of seeking solutions to the crisis through greater mutual cooperation, negotations, increasing mutual tolerance, reason, and more effective cooperation.

In the group for reform of the economic system Zoran Arandjelovic said that he would prefer not to know the name of the president of the government if only he lived better. He reproached the Federal Executive Council for the eight-fold increase in their personal incomes. Milorad Unkovic maintains that the new federal constitution should be passed as soon as possible and if this was not possible then an all-Yugoslav referendum should be set. Serbia can no longer accept its inequality nor can it tolerate that "one only sells here without buying anything."

The thematic groups of the 11th Serbian LC Congress are still in session. The 4th plenary session is scheduled for 1630 GMT when the results of the voting will be known.

Central Committee Elected

LD1712062889 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2342 GMT 16 Dec 89

[Text] Belgrade, 16 Dec (TANJUG)—Delegates at the 11th Congress of the Serbian League of Communists [LC] have elected in a secret ballot in the fourth plenary session 157 members of the Serbian LC Central Committee. The delegates chose from among 178 candidates put forward. The most votes were obtained by Slobodan Milosevic—1,179.

A statutory commission of the Serbian LC, a supervisory commission, and delegates of the Serbian LC for the 14th Extraordinary Congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia were also elected this evening.

New Central Committee Listed

LD1712121789 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2339 GMT 16 Dec 89

["Members of the Serbian League of Communists Central Committee"—TANJUG headline; figures in parentheses denote number of votes gained in election at the Serbian League of Communists Congress on 16 December]

[Text] [no dateline as received] Aleksandar Aleksic (1,045), Dragan Aleksic (1,003), Miladin Aleksic (970), Snezana Aleksic (1,014), Gojko Andjelic (929), Zivorad Andjelkovic (937), Zoran Andjelkovic (1,065), Radmila Andjelkovic (1,087), Milos Asanin (999), Stevan Baljosevic (985), Melita Besermenji (938), Dzevdet Binaku (928), Dobrosav Bjeletic (1,047), Radmilo Bogdanovic (1,081), Slavisa Bzionovic (926), Milena Bosaun (985), Milan Boskovic (962), Miroslav Boskovic (977), Radomir Brajkovic (976), Nebojsa Brankovic (942), Slavica Brdarac (1,013), Remzi Bunjaku (922), Radenko Vasilic (972), Boban Veljkovic (958), Gojko Veselinovic (968), Sibila Vlajkovic (927), Ratomir Vico (1,099), Budimir Vujovic (961), Sanja Vukojevic (1,009), Irena Molnar-Gabric (1,006), Jon George (986), Dragan Gocic (922), Slobodanka Gruden (1,096), Dusan Divjak (952), Petar Dikanovic (877), Borivoje Dimitrijevic (933), Zuzana Dobo (997), Miodrag Dragosavac (939), Slobodan Dugalic (1,000), Altene Duraku (949), Slavoljub Djokic (1,011), Slavko Djordjevic (1,012), Djordje Djukic (1,033), Tode Djuranovic (950), Viseslav Zivanovic (944), Predrag Zivanovic (1,005), Dusan Zoric (977), Ljubisa Igic (961), Zora Ilic (1,002), Dragan Ilic (1,041), Milanka Icic (983), Miomir Jaksic (1,057), Milorad Jaksic (985), Zoran Janackovic (984), Gosto Jankovic (919), Radenko Jankovic (960), Obrad Jelic (994), Vlajko Jovic (1,021), Branko Kalajankovic (900), Rados Karaklajsic (980), Radosav Karic (1,001), Dusko Klisuric (917), Dragoljub Knezevic (1,008), Zvanka Knezevic (941), Dejan Kovacevic (1,011), Julijana Kojic (1,008), Vojislav Kocic (957), Ismet Krasnici (895), Ljubomir Krnjajic (922), Svetozar Krstic (1,006), Cvitko Krunic (950), Vladan Kutlesic (971), Dragan Lakicevic (985), Dusan Latinovic (946), Miklos Lerik (930), Djordje Malavrazic (976), Marina Manojlovic (1,029), Mileta Medojevic (949), Nedeljko Magdalinovic (977), Bozidar Maksimovic (971), Ante Maras (937), Svetlana Maric-Sentjakov (960), Dusan Markovic (1,002), Dragoljub Milanovic (994), Miodrag Milic (1,003), Dragutin Milovanovic (995), Miroslav Milojevic (1,034), Slobodan Milosevic (1,179), Milomir Minic (1,149), Zivorad Minovic (945), Zivojin Mitrovic (1,009), Svetlana Mitrovic (1,023), Miodrag Micic (969), Bajrus Morina (945), Milutin Mrkonjic (989), Djordje Nedeljkovic (958), Vladimir Ninkovic (951), Ljubomir Novakovic (952), Zoran Ognjanovic (1,021), Olah Karolj (956), Zivko Pavlovic (993), Milutin Pavlovic (969), Dragoljub Pajic (979), Zivota Pajic (960), Radivoje Papovic (981), Radivoj Proski (934), Aleksandar Pejic (969), Milutin Peric (932), Vlajko Petkovic (1,028), Milenko Petrovic (1,059), Dejan Popovic (1,023), Milan Popovic (976), Mirjana Popovic (1,009), Slavko Popovic (985), Ivan Radic (945), Dusanka Radmilovic (1,021), Djura Radmilovic (902), Stanko Radmilovic (1,067), Slobodan Radovanovic (934), Borislav Radovic (994), Tomica Raicevic (1,047), Eugen Rac (905), Vojislav Rasovic (891), Milanka Repac (944), Nikola Ristic (965), Stojan Savic (971), Tomislav Sekulic (1051), Miladin Sekulovic (1099), Ljubica Simakovic (944), Vojislav Simanovic (894), Istvan Sic (962), Lajos Sitas (921), Rados Smiljkovic (1,021), Zoran Sokolovic (1,129), Biljana Stajic (990), Toma Stanic (939), Stojadin Stevanovic (927), Branko Stevanovic (929), Dobrila Sefanovic (968), Nikola Stojanov (931), Gordana Stojanovic (995), Zivojin Stojanovic (905), Slavko Stojanovic (923), Stevan Stojanovic (910), Branislav Todorovic (929), Dusan Todorovic (951), Spasoje Todorovic (929), Momcilo Trajkovic (1,014), Bogdan Trifunovic (1,146), Petar Trifunovic (912), Merita Cerimi (896), Radivoje Filipovic (902), Tahir Hasanovic (935), Jasmina Hasimbegovic (914), Dusan Celic (947), Jasmina Sparavalo (964), Vladimir Stambuk (983).

Losers in Elections Named

LD1712122289 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2347 GMT 16 Dec 89

[Text] Belgrade, 16 Dec (TANJUG)—The following have not been elected members of the Serbian League of Communists Central Committee: Goran Imer 854, Husnija Delic 871, Redzep Kuraja 813, Mustafa Mehmeti 866, Dusan Mitevic 845, Ivan Naumov 870, Haljim Osman 797, Petar Ponjevic 849, Vlastimir Potic 857, Nenadin Stojanovic 869, Jozef Totpal 827, Goran Trivan 791, Ondrej Trnovski 800, Dusan Catovic 828, Muhamed Ustaibo 753, Scepan Ushumlic 810, Harum Hasani 751, Vladimir Cvetanovic 855, Zejnelj Celina 773, and Gojko Colic 816.

Ljubica Stanisavljevic withdrew her candidacy for health reasons.

New Central Committee Presidium Elected

LD1712173389 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1116 GMT 17 Dec 89

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 17 Dec (TANJUG)—[Passage omitted] The Central Committee elected 20 members of the Presidium from the list of 21 candidates. There were no invalid votes among 147 members of the Central

Committee who voted. The following were elected: Zoran Andjelkovic (141), Dobrosav Bjeletic (138), Remzi Bunjaku (140), Ratomir Vico (142), Slobodanka Gruden (140), Zuzana Dobo (140), Svetozar Krstic (139), Milomir Minic (144), Rahman Morina (145), Zoran Ognjanovic (132), Vlajko Petkovic (129), Milenko Petrovic (139), Dejan Popovic (136), Borislav Radovic (138), Tomica Raicevic (141), Rados Smiljkovic (126), Branislav Todorovic (136), Tahir Hasanovic (127), Dusan Celic (133), and Nedeljko Sipovac (146).

Budimir Vujovic was not elected member of the Presidium (120 Central Committee members voted him).

Serbia Breaks Ties With 152 Slovene Enterprises

LD1512222189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1115 GMT 15 Dec 89

[Text] Ljubljana, 15 Dec (TANJUG)—Work organizations in the Socialist Republic of Serbia have so far informed 152 enterprises in Slovenia about breaking ties with them. The breaking of business relations and contracts is increasingly frequent, as is the halting of deliveries of raw materials and cancelling of orders in almost all branches of the economy.

As pointed out today at a session of the Executive Committee of the Slovene Chamber of Economy, the economic blockade of Slovenia has assumed worrying proportions and a new wave of breaks in business relations is expected. Action so far has inflicted huge damages, not only on the Slovene and Serbian economies, but also throughout Yugoslavia, members of the Executive Committee of the Slovene Chamber of Economy believe.

Serbia Joins Assembly of European Regions

AU1812120989 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 7 Dec 89 p 4

[H.D. Antic report: "Serbia Joins Europe"]

[Excerpt] Last week's session of the Assembly of European Regions in Vienna brought Serbia substantial recognition and opened prospects of intensive cooperation with countries of the European Community. By the vote of this meeting, the Socialist Republic of Serbia, as well as Slovenia, assumed the status of an associate member, while Croatia, Montenegro, and Macedonia remained with the status of observers. The speech of Dr Aleksandar Prlja, leader of the Serbian delegation, was followed with interest in the ceremonial hall of the Vienna Hofburg. Many participants in the talks of this gathering, which will most probably develop into a special house of the European Parliament at Strasbourg, mentioned the ideas coming from Serbia.

We asked Dr Aleksandar Prlja what the practical consequences of the rather hasty and accelerated attachment of Serbia to this Strasbourg-based organization would be.

"I have the impression that we have not fully grasped the significance of the recently-held meeting in Vienna." Dr Prlja said. "At a time of many events in Europe, when there is increasing talk of East European countries introducing market economies, the Socialist Republic of Serbia has gained the status of an associate member of this organization, which opens up significant possibilities for development. I talked in Vienna about the need for European regions which have not fully accepted market principles and competition to be helped in the immediate creation of an international center for training their specialists. Hundreds if not thousands of our people will be trained in such disciplines as the organization of enterprises, marketing, and management. Many speakers from developed countries fully supported this idea. Many people still shrink from risk and questions of ownership, profit, and inflation, although there is money, and more than is necessary, for various projects in Western Europe. If the funds are devoted to the training of economists, these risks will not be present. The proposal I brought forward was included in the final document of the Vienna meeting. [passage omitted]

Details of 11 Dec Slovene Assembly Session

LD1412111189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1146 GMT 11 Dec 89

[Text] Ljubljana, 11 Dec (TANJUG)—At their extraordinary session today, delegates of the three chambers of the Assembly of the Socialist Republic [SR] of Slovenia discussed the situation aroused by the unilateral decision of the Serbian SR organs. Janez Stanovik, president of the Slovenian SR Presidency, Dusan Sinigoj, president of the Republican Executive Council, read out their introductory addresses.

In Stanovnik's words, the severance of all relations with the Slovenian SR, which was categorically endorsed by the inaugural address of the president of the Serbian SR Presidency has inflicted a severe blow on AVNOJ- [Anti-Fascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia] based Yugoslavia. The contents of this speech are without precedent in civilized states. It would not be in keeping with the dignity of this assembly if we were to reply in the same manner. You have been given a copy of this speech by the president of the Serbian SR Presidency, Janez Stanovnik said, noting that a unitarist state was being imposed there, instead of an AVNOJ-based Yugoslavia, as a shared homeland of equal nations. On the spur of the moment, the Slovenian SR is reduced to "the Slovene part of the Yugoslav state." The democratic right of the Slovene people to elect their own political leadership themselves is challenged by an ultimatum: Either renounce your leadership and dignity, or we will continue our boycott.

By such a move, the Slovenian SR and the whole of Yugoslavia have found themselves in a completely new situation, was Janez Stanovnik's assessment. He added that "this assembly, as this republic's highest organ of authority, must adjudicate upon all the consequences of such a move and decide on our future direction."

Stanovnik then reminded the delegates of the events that "culminated in the inaugural speech of the president of the Serbian SR Presidency."

"The atmosphere of tension in relations between the SR's of Slovenia and Serbia has been created over a long period of time, Stanovnik said. These relations were becoming strained regarding Kosovo, and particularly in the recent period, when the policy of extraordinary measures has reached an obvious deadlock, which disgraces Yugoslavia in the eyes of the world. Yugoslav policy in Kosovo is dictated by the Serbian SR, while the consequences are borne by the whole of Yugoslavia.

In the opinion of the president of the Slovenian SR Presidency, much deeper causes of these tensions are surfacing through the conflicts stemming from the Kosovo drama, those entailed by the differences in the attitudes toward the settling of coexistence in Yugoslavia, and the understanding and observance of human and civil rights, and consequently toward the political system in the federation. Obviously, this is a matter of the essential differences in attitudes toward the overcoming of the deep crisis and Yugoslavia's future economic and social system. These differences were especially manifested on the occasion of the hunger strike by the Stari Trg miners and on the occasion of the infamous, but unsuccessful, pressure on the adoption of the Slovenian constitutional amendments.

The latest pressure, Stanovnik stressed, began on 4 November when the Bozur committee of associations for the return of Serbs and Montenegrins to Kosovo sent a letter to sociopolitical organizations and alternative movements of Slovenia demanding that it be allowed to hold the 1 December meeting in Ljubljana. The sociopolitical organizations and citizens made a negative decision on the initiative for the mass meeting of participants who would be coming to Ljubljana from other parts of the state, above all from Serbia. Instead of the meeting, it was suggested that a delegation of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo tell the truth about Kosovo at a roundtable in the Cankar Center, via a current affairs program on television and in the Slovene press, or directly in the Slovene Assembly. All these invitations went unanswered, Stanovnik stressed.

The aim of the meeting was, therefore, something else, Stanovnik said. This is shown by the crude statements of Bozur and, in particular, by the statement of secretary Buljugic that the organizers were even prepared for conflict, even at the cost of dozens of lives. Because of this, the competent organs (?banned the meeting). They considered that the mass arrival of the participants in such an overheated situation posed a danger of inflaming national hatred and threatening public order and peace. However, the organizers did not respect the ban on the meeting.

[Words indistinct] the participants and organizers to abandon the meeting. Their impotence and defeat were seen in the statement of the Serbian SAWP Republican Conference. On Republic Day itself this statement revealed who was the real initiator of the unsuccessful expedition to Ljubljana and what he wanted to bring with his "bread and salt."

The call by the Serbian Socialist Alliance of Working People for severing all relations has been followed by an unprecedented campaign of accusations that are entirely untrue. The aggressor's victim has been accused of being an aggressor. This is not the first time in history this has happened, Stanovnik said.

Those who slander Slovenia have raised a great deal of outcry to say that by banning the mass march of those missionaries we have closed the republic's borders and thus dismissed the federal Constitution on our territory. Obviously, the authors of these accusations—who inhibit the highest state and political levels in the SR's of Serbia and Montenegro and elsewhere in the country—have never read Article 183 of the federal Constitution, which explicitly envisages the possibility of limiting freedom of movement at the point where the exercise of a certain right would infringe on the freedom and rights of other citizens.

The measures of the Slovene organs in that situation protected the right to peace and security in the lives of citizens. They are the most elementary rights. The justification of the measures agreed was further confirmed at the meeting of the federal secretary with the republican secretaries of internal affairs, where it was assessed that the violation of the adopted regulations would have had serious consequences for order and peace.

The limitation of movement would only have affected those who wanted to violate the decree on banning the meeting. Everyone who was in Slovenia between 29 November and 2 December could see for himself that the movement of citizens was free. Border crossing controls reported that from 30 November to 1 December—in other words, in 27 hours—more than 37,000 travellers from other republics crossed the Yugoslav-Italian and Yugoslav-Austrian border. Clearly, these travellers could not have turned up at the state border with Italy and Austria without previously also having crossed the "republican" border at Bregana or elsewhere, Stanovnik stressed.

This whole, highly organized campaign about violating human rights and sealing off our republican border is being carried out to the accompaniment of the slogan "About a good people and a bad leadership." The subversive aim of this strategy is being declared unashamedly and explicitly at the very newly elected top of the Serbian state. The president of the Serbian SR Presidency has said that the measures of breaking off all relations with the Slovenian SR are to remain in effect "until the forces of conservatism, aggression, and violence give up their place in Slovene policy to those of democracy, peace, and brotherhood. Of course, it is he and only he who pronounces what the forces of democracy, peace, and brotherhood are, Stanovnik stressed. Instead of the Slovene people, it is he who ascribes to himself the right to install and topple the organs of authority in Slovenia.

However, Stanovnik noted that the first and final aim of these attacks is neither Slovenia nor its leadership, just as on an earlier occasion the final aim was not to eliminate those who think in a different way and change the constitutional position of the republics and provinces. These were just the stages of a far-reaching strategy within the

framework of which the attack on Slovenia would constitute the terminal stage in the liquidation of AVNOJ-based Yugolavia.

The problems facing Yugoslavia at this juncture, Stanovnik resumed, is not a dispute between two republics, as many domestic and foreign observers believe. Many people, even the most well-intentioned and sincere people, who are devoted to the idea of Yugoslavia, believe they will save our shared homeland if they assume the same distance from either side involved in the dispute. Some are even prepared to assume a criticial attitude toward Slovenia for these reasons, only to justify their "neutrality" in condemning the destructive conduct of the Serbian leadership. The essence of the problem is not Serbia against Slovenia but Serbia against AVNOJ-based Yugoslavia. This truth is proved further by the systematic and simultaneous attack on our federation's top organs.

Our reply to the threats of the amputation of Slovenia from Yugoslavia—which speak of the separatist essence of those who are forcing us to Graz or Philadelphia or who tell us that they will not get down on their knees to beg us to remain in Yugoslavia—has to be: we will decide on that ourselves, Stanovnik stressed. We entered Yugoslavia on the basis of a voluntary decision adopted at the session of the assembly of delegates of the Slovene nation in Kocevje in 1943. At that time, Slovene national rule was established throughout Slovene territory. We had our own Slovene Army. Other institutions of a sovereign state were also established and operating. This legitimizes our rejection once and for all of the absurd claim about Slovene separatism and the assertion that only the Serbian nation has real statehood.

We deny everyone the right, including the Serbian leadership, to proclaim their own interests or the interests of their own nation as unconditionally Yugoslav and to brand as anti-Yugoslav and separatist everything with which they do not agree. The Yugoslav interest can only be that which does not damage the fundamental interests of any of the constituent parts of the Yugoslav federal community, and which is formulated by equal agreement of the members of the federation. In Yugoslavia, there can exist two kinds of citizens—those who are Yugoslavs by birth, and others who have to constantly prove to the former their Yugoslavism, stressed Janez Stanovnik. In addition to this, we propose that the Slovenian SR Assembly also resolutely protect the authority of Janez Drnovsek, president of the SFRY Presidency, who obtained a mandate in this assembly and whose recall cannot be demanded by anyone who happens not to like the president's stances. The resolute voice of this assembly will strengthen the president's authority in Yugoslavia, Janez Stanovnik said.

Stanovnik said that "the president of the Serbian Presidency speaks about the national and personal dignity of the citizens of the SR of Serbia which are allegedly threatened by the hatred sown among the nations of Yugoslavia. He calls on the special moral right of Serbia to speak about this, because it has supposedly for so long been the unjustified object of all possible kinds of attack". The fact is, Stanovnik added, that Serbs on Slovene soil have never been threatened even after the Constitution of the Yugoslav state. The SR of Slovenia and the Slovene nation have never imposed on the SR of Serbia any kind of inequality, neither during the liberation war, nor after the foundation of the AVNOJ-based federation. Hence the danger of the policies of the responsible people in present-day Serbia, which aim to inflame hatred between both nations and to use it for ends which are harmful to all nations in Yugoslavia, and above all for the Serbian nation itself. We have adequate historical experience to see that the Serbian nation, just like the Slovene and all other nations, have an existential need for a free community of nations in Federal Yugoslavia. Only such a Yugoslavia can permanently survive and thus make possible a free existence for every nation in its entirety, and particularly the Serbian nation. For such a free community, at least a minimum of mutual understanding of differences is needed and at the same time full recognition of the legitimacy of its expression. The Slovenes have such a history that they are well able to understand the specific position of the Serbian nation and that we have already shown," said Janez Stanovnik.

"We can with complete moral rights guarantee to the Serbian nation in the SR of Serbia and elswhere that the Slovene nation, for as long as it enjoys the same understanding and respect for the rights of all other subjects of our federation, will advocate and defend those same rights for them as well. These are the words of a nation to a nation, of man to man. We are sure that they will be understood as such among the Serbian public, regardless of political differences. And it is certain that the Serbian nation realizes that no one in Yugoslavia can exclude anyone else from the country", said Stanovnik.

The recent events occasioned the proposal of the Slovene Presidency to hold today's session of the Assembly of the SR of Slovenia. We wanted the Slovene Assembly to take a stand on the events and the behavior of the Slovene state in recent days. The attack on the SR of Slovenia once again makes use of the strategy of dividing nation from nation. Only this assembly can show, Janez Stanovnik stressed, that the identification of a leadership and nation in a democracy is not achieved by meetings and the distasteful development of charisma, but rather by a mature, brave, and resolute vote in this assembly.

We also propose that the Assembly of the SR of Slovenia should likewise resolutely defend the authority of SFRY Presidency President Dr Janez Drnovsek, who was given his mandate in this assembly and whose dismissal cannot be demanded by anyone who does not like the president's views. The resolute vote of this assembly will strengthen the president's authority in Yugoslavia, Janez Stanovnik said.

According to Stanovnik, "the main aim of today's session of the Slovene Assembly is to look beyond today and tomorrow. The challenge we are facing forces us to consider the very foundation of our community. The SR of Slovenia and every socialist republic in the SFRY faced the demand for fundamental individual and common consideration of what our common homeland has become

and under what minimal, but acceptable to all, conditions it can be preserved. The strategy of the opposing side is aimed at our isolation, Stanovnik said. We can on no account allow ourselves to be forced into an isolation of resentment of self-righteousness. The Slovene nation has shown that it has conquered its historical sparsity and isolation. Today we are the exponents and adherents of the great idea of democracy and human rights and a law-governed state, and we should not fear the demagogy of those who are afraid of the truth," stressed Janez Stanovnik.

Our democratic direction is receiving increasing support from day to day throughout Yugoslavia. For this reason, we must persevere in our openness to dialogue with all those who are concerned about genuine coexistence in an equal community of Yugoslav nations. The new situation which has been created by the unprecedented step by the Serbian leadership calls for a new agreement on the content and form of coexistence in Yugoslavia.

At the end of his speech, President of the Slovene Presidency Janez Stanovnik quoted what was said about Yugoslavism by Ivan Cankar, who has recently been so much referred to for better or worse, and who did not write "the self-made ones" in the way in which the participants in the meeting of truth interpreted it to us. Cankar wrote: "The main task which falls to us Slovenes in resolving the Yugoslav problem is this—for the time being, we should affirm our Yugoslavism only to the extent that we should all learn by heart together the old Serbo-Croatian proverb: "Rely on yourself and your old nag". Cankar also wrote: "The Slovene nation will write its own future—it will not be written for them by either the bourgeoisie or the church". And this nation, Janez Stanovnik said in conclusion, will write the judgement on its own leadership and on no one else's.

Army Paper on Federation's Necessary Prerogatives

AU1912121589 Belgrade NARODNA ARMIJA in Serbo-Croatian 7 Dec 89 p 4

[Milan Jovanovic comentary: "To Calm Down Inflamed Passions"]

[Text] The Federal Executive Council [FEC] has been engaged in many tasks recently, particularly in preparing economic policy measures for the next year and, within that framework, the final part of the program to bring down inflation. What is particularly important is the FEC's attitude toward the latest situation, which resulted from the aggravation of the relations between Slovenia and Serbia over the meeting planned to be held in Ljubljana that has not been held after all, as well as events that ensued later. By reacting promptly to the situation, the FEC has shown that it does not wish to be a kind of economic cabinet which would only take care of financial and other regulations pertaining to the economic operations and the implementation of the economic reform. This FEC also uses its constitutional prerogatives (which, it is true, are rather limited) in the case of the current socioeconomic and political situation in the country, which the latest events have aggravated dramatically. It would not be too much to say that if the situation were to continue in that direction, the unity of the country and its territorial integrity could soon be threatened. How else is one to view the measures taken in one republic which have virtually imposed a state of emergency without the consent of the relevant federal organs and without even informing them, and have violated the constitutional rights to free movement over the entire territory of Yugoslavia (of course, within the limits of law and Constitution, which exclude any abuse of these rights). This also applies to measures imposed in the other republic which violate the constitutional provisions on the free flow of commodities and services throughout the entire economic territory of the country.

The moves that are being made have not remained without a response or the commitment of the broadest public in these republics and have not left aside the citizens themselves who, on top of their grave existential problems, are now being dragged into problems of aggravated mutual relations between republics.

It is more and more obvious that new events are only an outward sign of the deep-rooted crisis not only in interrepublican relations, but also in the entire political system and in the functioning of the federation in particular.

All those people for whom the fate of the reform is dear to their hearts, the reform which at this moment has found itself at a turning point and a decisive stage, are particularly concerned. Much has already been done to create a new economic system, without which the final efficient blow cannot be dealt to bring down the high inflation that threatens the standard of living of the great majority of the population. Without a reform, that is, without curbing inflation, the overall Yugoslav crisis will deepen to a dramatic extent.

Therefore, the most urgent task of all progressive and Yugoslav-oriented forces is to commit themselves most resolutely to calming down the inflamed passions and solving the existing situation first, and then to start removing the real causes of our crisis. This in fact means stopping all activities that lead to new divisions, to a fencing off into republican borders, and to a disregard for constitutional rights and freedoms. On the other hand, the road toward a permanent solution to the causes of the political crisis leads toward most urgent changes to the SFRY Constitution. That means that our federation can no longer be the matter of daily agreements and haggling between the sovereign republican states which, as has been shown in practice, are preoccupied with concern about their own development, while neglecting the other side of their constitutional obligations pertaining to concern for the development of the entire Yugoslav state.

The new federal state would have to have at least the minimum prerogatives which would enable it to carry out an efficient macroeconomic policy in all spheres and which, after all, all governments in federal states in the

world possess. This particularly pertains to the prerogatives the federation has in the sphere of monetary, fiscal, and taxation policy, and the economic relations with foreign countries, along with precisely established rights which the federation possesses in the sphere of security and national defense and foreign policy. All these prerogatives must be built into the new constitution in order to make the federal state an efficient, law-governed, and democratic community of all peoples and nationalities of Yugoslavia.

Stipe Suvar Interviewed on Current Situtation

LD0212184189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1004 GMT 2 Dec 89

[Excerpts] Zagreb, 2 Dec (TANJUG)—I believe that the attempt to hold a meeting in Ljubljana was the latest in a technology, as I would call it, of such meetings, the aim of which is to enter the home territory of others in Yugoslavia, even when they are explicitly against it. Generally speaking, the technology of meetings can neither make Yugoslavia happy nor reorganize it, except possibly where leaderships have already been brought down by this method. The situation in the country can only be worsened, and this, unfortunately, is happening. It is an illusion to think that an expedition to another environment can change leaderships which allegedly are not in love with their own people. This can only strengthen the love between the said people and the said leadership, if it is a case of different nations and different leaderships, which it clearly is. This is stated in an exclusive interview to NEDJELJNI VJESNIK by Dr Stipe Suvar, member of the SFRY Presidency, speaking about the meeting in Ljubljana and its consequences.

In the view of Dr Stipe Suvar, the outcome, that is the ban on the meeting on the one hand, and the announcement of economic and merciless war, the threat of a break in all ties with a nation, its republic, and its leadership by the leadership on behalf of the nation of another republic on the other, is extremely worrying. Not even under the Constitution of the SFRY can one republic proclaim the severance of relations with another. Within the limits of my own personal possibilities, I will take a vigorous stand against this as a member of the SFRY Presidency, [he says]. In addition to numerous other questions, Dr Stipe Suvar also touches on the abolition of charges against Azem Vlasi, stressing that, after reading the indictment against Vlasi and the 14 other accused, he had called on the SFRY Presidency in a letter of 24 October this year to consider the possibility of dropping charges, and that this had also been sought in another context, even before the indictment, by Dr Janez Drnovsek. [passage omitted]

Even though at the time of Vlasi's arrest I was serving as president of the LCY [League of Communists of Yugoslavia] Central Committee Presidium and as a member of the SFRY Presidency, I learned of the arrest from the newspapers, [Dr Suvar says]. It is within the competence of the SFRY Presidency to give pardons, but not to voice opinions, either beforehand or afterwards, on arrests, investigations, trials. When in this case the trial was fixed that was the time for the Presidency to abolish charges as a form of pardon thereby releasing someone from criminal investigations, and not of course establishing whether he is guilty or not. I considered and still consider that dropping charges in this case is politically opportune and that this would be an act of state wisdom, stressed Dr Stipe Suvar. The next question is whether Dr. Suvar thinks that agreement to such a political process would mean the identification of the politics of Yugoslavia with the politics of the Serbian leadership.

[Dr. Suvar says:] I have not thought in those terms. As a member of the SFRY Presidency I do not accept, and I behave accordingly, the diktat of any leadership. The fact remains that Kosovo is a province within Serbia and that Serbia as a republic is directly integrated there. However, the particular internal affairs organ which decided on the arrest and that which went for a trial should not as a matter of principle be under the influence of the political or other organs of the province and the republic. [passage omitted]

SFRY Presidency member Dr Stipe Suvar notes that socialism is facing the reconstruction of the freedom of political association which is bound to result in a multiparty situation. A multiparty situation, according to Suvar, cannot be a permanent human ideal, but is probably better—as the experiences of socialism show—than a one-party monopoly...

To be honest, Dr Stipe Suvar notes, I would like to see at last the emergence of two parties which would take over the program of the Yugoslav revolution and would creatively compete with each other, rather than our present struggle without real democracy within one party, which has in practical terms condemned the membership to national or some other form of monolith...

In reply to the question of whether the consequence of pluralistic democracy could be the removal from the political scene of the LCY, Suvar replies decisively: no. If the LCY were to disintegrate because of the present state of affairs, it is quite certain that a new party would be formed out of its ashes, which would take over the continuity of its basic endeavors. Nor can Tito be expelled from our history, or anything connected with him, or which he personalized in our communist movement...I am quite sure that a socialist and communist program is our future and something which will continue to occupy people more than anything else, perhaps also within the framework of several parties...

Another question is whether someone could appear in Yugoslavia who would play a role like that of Jaruzelski in Poland

It is absurd to speak of that, Suvar says, adding: I believe that no Jaruzelski is possible in Yugoslavia. In any case, what did Jaruzelski do in Poland? He temporarily saved the situation, but he was forced to hand over power, to put it mildly, to noncommunists. If the Army in this country were forced to take over power, it could not hold it for long—for many reasons, regardless of what kind of Army it is...[passage omitted]